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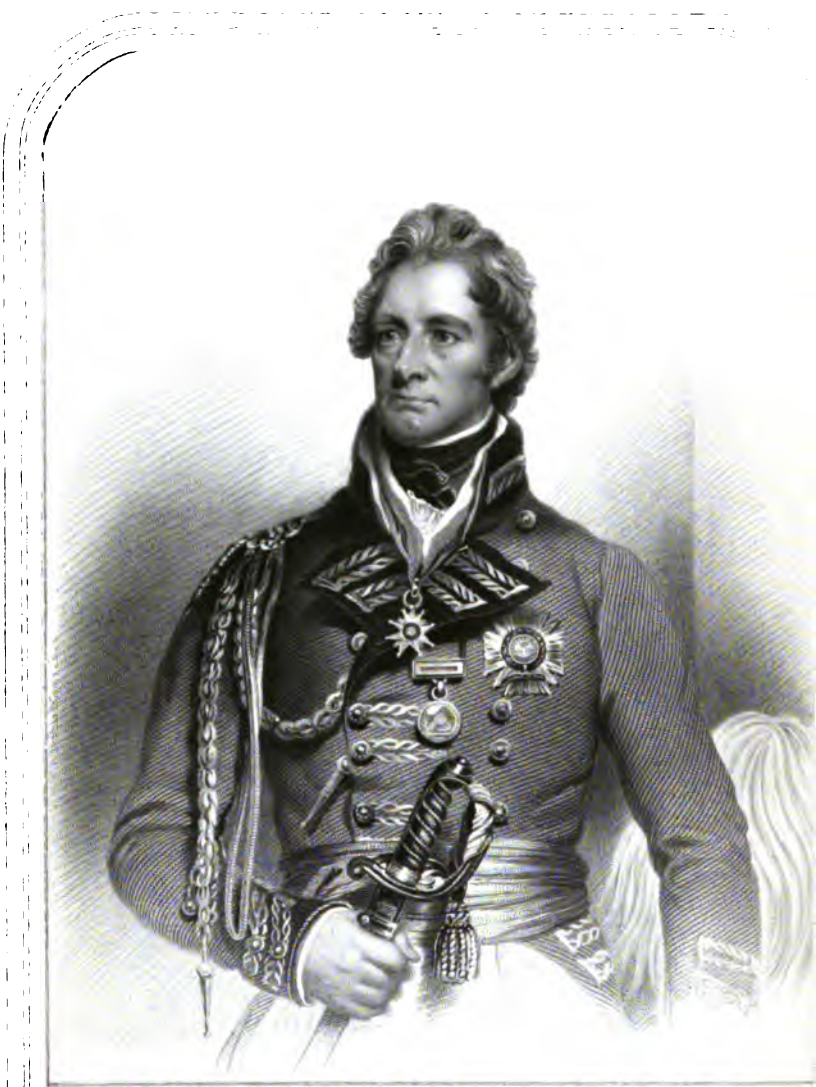












MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID BAIRD

Engraved by T. G. Jones

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID BAIRD, 1ST BARONET.  
GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.





❧

# Biographical Dictionary

OF

## EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH  
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME III.



THE HIGH STREET, EDINBURGH.

Blackie & Son,  
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH AND LONDON.





A  
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY  
OF  
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

EDITED BY  
ROBERT CHAMBERS,  
ONE OF THE EDITORS OF 'CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL.'

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

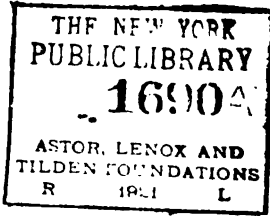
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DIVISION IV.  
FORDYCE—HORNER.

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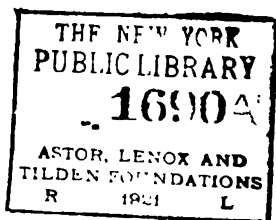
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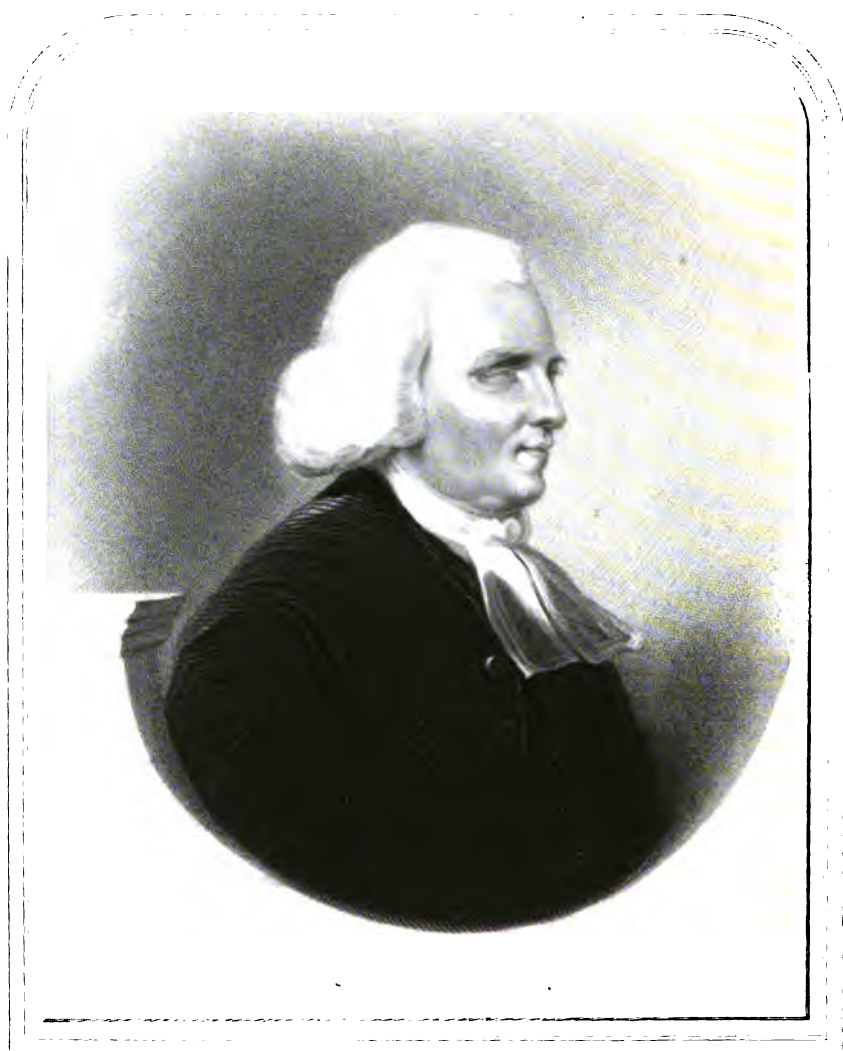
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VILLAFIELD





JOHN WILSON

THE WILSON PAPERS, 1740-1790, 1791-1800,  
FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, HARRISON C.

THE WILSON PAPERS, 1740-1790, 1791-1800









W. H. B. 1794

W. H. B. 1794

WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER, ESQ.

PR. PRINCE OF WALES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY A. W. B. 1794. IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS





















1714

5. 1714

GEORGE JAMESON.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. CARPENTR, ADDRESSED

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Engraved by J. Thomson

# ALEXANDER GORDON LAING.

MAJOR OF THE WEST INDIA REGIMENT.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS FATHER  
WILLIAM LAING, ESQ. OF ABERDEEN.

PRINTED BY J. G. & CO. 10, N. B. ST. G. 1841.







Portrait of General Sir David Baird, Bart. by Sir James Stuart, 1784.

General Sir David Baird, Bart. was a British Army officer and politician. He was born on 17 June 1746 and died on 10 May 1827.

General Sir David Baird, Bart.

General Sir David Baird, Bart. was a British Army officer and politician.









THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY JAMES MADISON



slept in our different apartments, and mine had a door of communication with his, so he could not stir without my hearing. He awoke about two o'clock and lighted a wax bougie at his lamp, one of which stood on a dumb waiter, at his bed-side, with his medicines and cordials. He lighted it to take the ethereal spirit; but forgetting to blow it out, it unluckily took fire in the bunch; the smell of which awoke him perhaps in some alarm. He then called to me, who was just in my first sleep, and springing up eagerly in the dark, I stumbled, and struck my head against the door; the blow for a few minutes stunned me and made me reel in coming up to him. I affected to be well that he might not be alarmed. 'I called to you, my love, lest the smell of fire which the bougie occasioned, might have frightened you. You have paid dear for coming to me by this blow.' Saying so he got up, and calling the women with a firm voice three or four times, they and my niece were all at once with us. I was praying him to return to bed, but he refused until he should get me, from their hands, some *sal volatile*. He then said, 'Are you better?' I answered 'O well, well.'—'God be praised,' said he, raising his hands, and with the words in his mouth he fell in our arms without a groan, a sigh, or so much as the rattle in the throat. The spirit was instantly fled and for ever, to the God that gave it. He was taken from my arms, who will ever live in my heart, and I saw him no more."

Dr Fordyce's first literary attempt was made as editor of the posthumous work of his brother, Mr David Fordyce, published in 1753, entitled the "Art of Preaching." But he is best known to the world by the ingenious and elegant sermons which he addressed to young women; and his addresses to young men. He was author, however, of several other publications,<sup>1</sup> and was remarkable for the energy and usefulness of his pulpit instructions. His private character was amiable; his manners those of a gentleman and Christian. He blended great cheerfulness with sincere and ardent piety. He possessed a cultivated understanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of sentiment. He was a steady friend of civil and religious toleration—not from indifference but from a true spirit of Christian philanthropy.

FORDYCE, SIR WILLIAM, F.R.S., a distinguished physician, was a younger brother of David and James Fordyce, whose lives have already been recorded, and was born in the year 1724. Like his brethren, he was educated at the

<sup>1</sup> The following is a list of Dr Fordyce's works.

1. "The eloquence of the Pulpit, an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge," 12mo, 1752.

2. "An essay on the action proper for the pulpit," 12mo. Both these are published at the end of "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the art of preaching, by David Fordyce," 3d edition, 12mo, 1755.

3. "The method of edification by public instruction," an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge, 12mo, 1754. These were delivered at the ordination of Mr John Gibson, minister of St Ninians, May 9th, 1754.

4. "The Temple of Virtue," a dream, 12mo, 1747. 2d edition, much altered, 1755.

5. "The folly, infamy, and misery of unlawful pleasures," a sermon preached before the general assembly of the church of Scotland, 25th May, 1760—8vo, 1760.

6. "A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr Samuel Lawrence, who departed this life 1st October, 1760, with an address at his interment," 8vo, 1760.

7. "Sermons to young women," 2 vols. 12mo, 1766.

8. "The character and conduct of the female sex, and the advantages to be derived by young men from the society of virtuous young women;" a discourse in three parts, delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, 1st January, 1776, 8vo, 1776.

9. "Addresses to young men," 2 vols. 12mo, 1777.

10. "The delusive and persecuting spirit of popery;" a sermon preached in the Monkwell Street chapel on the 10th of February, being the day appointed for the general fast, 8vo, 1779.

11. "Charge delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, at the ordination of the Rev. James Lindsay," 8vo, 1783. Printed with the sermon delivered by Dr Hunter on that occasion.

12. "Addresses to the Deity," 12mo.

13. "Poems" 12mo, 1786.

II.

Marischal college, of which he died lord rector. At the age of eighteen, he finished his academic studies, in which he had distinguished himself, particularly by his proficiency in Greek and mathematics, the most solid as well as the most ornamental parts of academic knowledge. Having studied physic and surgery under a native practitioner, he joined the army as a volunteer, and afterwards served as surgeon to the brigade of guards on the coast of France, and in all the military transactions which took place in Germany. The warm support of his military friends co-operated with his own merit in early recommending him to distinguished practice in London. His publications, particularly his treatise on fevers and ulcerated sore throat, greatly extended his fame; and he was sent for to greater distances, and received larger fees, than almost any physician of his time. The wealth which he thus acquired he liberally expended in benevolent actions, and was thus the means of doing much good, as well as some harm. Having patronised his brother Alexander, who was a banker in London, he enabled that individual to enter upon an unusually extensive series of transactions, which, though sound in themselves, exposed him to a malevolent combination of his brethren in trade, and hence the great bankruptcy of Fordyce and Co., which may be termed one of the most important domestic events in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Besides the losses which Sir William Fordyce thus incurred, he soon after became engaged for ten thousand pounds more, which was lost by his brother in the project of a manufacture which totally failed; and had it not been for the generosity of the Messrs Drummond, bankers, who advanced him the necessary sum, he must have submitted to a loss of personal liberty. Notwithstanding these severe shocks to his fortune, Sir William continued to maintain two poor families, whom he had taken under his patronage, and who had no other resource. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of this excellent man, that, besides his own losses by Alexander, he repaid those incurred by his brother James, amounting to several thousand pounds. The benevolence of Sir William Fordyce was a kind of enthusiasm. When he heard of a friend being ill, he would run to give him his advice, and take no fee for his trouble. His house was open to all kinds of meritorious persons in distressed circumstances, and he hardly ever wanted company of this kind. He was also indefatigable in his good offices towards young Scotsmen who had come to London in search of employment. His address had much of the courtly suavity of a past age, and his conversation, while unassuming, was replete with elegant anecdote and solid information. His eye beamed gentleness and humanity, ennobled by penetration and spirit. Although originally of a delicate constitution, by temperance and exercise he preserved his health for many years, but suffered at last a long and severe illness, which ended in his death, December 4, 1792. Sir William, who had been knighted about 1787, wrote a treatise on the Venereal Disease, another, as already mentioned, on Fevers, and a third on Ulcerated Sore Throat; besides which, he published, immediately before his death, a pamphlet on the "Great Importance and Proper Method of Cultivating Rhubarb in Britain for medicinal uses."

FORDUN, or DE FORDUN, JOHN, the celebrated author of the "*Scotichronicon*," was probably born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and at the village of Fordun, in Kincardineshire, from which he seems to have taken his name. Walter Bower, the continuator of his history, speaks of him as a simple man, who never graduated in the schools. It would appear, however, that he possessed sufficient learning to fit him for the profession of a priest, and the composition of a Latin history, as these two various kinds of labour were then practised. He was a priest of the diocese of St Andrews, and a canon of the church of Aberdeen, where he is said to have resided at the time when he composed his his-

tory. This great composition was in progress, as he himself informs us, in the reign of Richard II. of England, which extended between the years 1387, and 1399; and this, vague as it is, is one of the few dates that can be supplied respecting the life of the chronicler. The work produced by Fordun, though deformed by the superstitious and incorrect ideas of the age, is nevertheless a respectable production, fully qualified to bear comparison with the works of the contemporary English historians. The merit of the author is increased in no mean degree by the motive which prompted him to undertake the composition—a desire of supplying the want of those historical monuments which Edward I. carried away to England. To quote the quaint words of a monkish writer<sup>1</sup>: “After the loss of these chronicles, a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to the work; nor did he desist from the undertaking, until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled, the ‘*Scotichronicon*.’ In this undertaking, it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise upon the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact, that to commit all the records of past ages to the memory, is the attribute of God rather than man; he, upon this consideration travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadows of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets all that most pleased him; in this manner, and by pursuing indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in an historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted king David.”

The result of Fordun's labours is, that we possess an account of several ages of Scottish history, which otherwise would have been in a great measure blank. The two first of the five books into which he divides his work, may be laid aside, as relating only to the fabulous part of the history; the last refers to the period between 1056, and 1153, and is a valuable piece of history. Posterior to the year last mentioned, Fordun has only written detached notes, which, however, are themselves of no small value for the facts which they contain. When the venerable canon found himself too infirm to continue his labours, he committed the materials which he had collected to Walter Bower, who, as noticed elsewhere, became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and by whom the work was brought down to the year 1436. The *Scotichronicon* was afterwards copied in various monasteries, and has accordingly been handed down in several shapes, each slightly different from the other, under the titles of the *Book of Scone*, the *Book of Paisley*, and other denominations. Finally, the earlier part formed a substructure for the amplified work of Hector Boece, and the elegant one of Buchanan. The work itself has been twice printed, first at Oxford, by Hearne, in five vols. 8vo. and afterwards at Edinburgh in one volume folio, with a preface by Goedal; but a translation is still a desideratum in Scottish historical literature.

<sup>1</sup> As translated by Mr P. F. Tytler, in his “*Lives of Scottish Worthies*,” article Fordun.

FORRESTER, REV. THOMAS, was the *third* minister of Melrose after the reformation, the second being Mr John Knox, a nephew of the Reformer, whom Forrester succeeded in 1623. This reverend divine was a very extraordinary character in his time. While the attempts of Charles I. to complete an episcopal system of church-government in Scotland, were the subject of violent and universal discontent, at least in the southern parts of the kingdom, Forrester appears to have beheld them with the utmost gratulation and triumph, giving way to his feelings in occasional satires upon those who opposed the court. His vein of poetry is generally allowed to have been of no mean order; and even in a later age, when many of the allusions are unintelligible, its poignancy is sufficiently obvious. This was accompanied by a general eccentricity of conduct and opinion, which was highly absurd and indecorous. For instance, he publicly declared that some kinds of work might be done on the Lord's day; and, as an example to his people, brought home his corn on that day from the harvest field. He maintained that the public and ordinary preaching of the word, was no necessary part of divine worship, that the reading of the liturgy was preferable to it, and that pastors and private christians should use no other prayers, than what were prescribed by authority. He made no scruple to declare, that the reformers had done more harm to the Christian church, than the Popes at Rome had done for ten ages. It may easily be supposed, that a man who acted upon maxims so opposite to the spirit of the age, could not be very popular, either with his brethren or the public. Accordingly, among the acts of the general assembly of 1638, when the authority of the court was set at defiance, we find the deposition of Mr Thomas Forrester, accused of popery, Arminianism, and other offences.

The reverend satirist appears to have indulged himself in a characteristic revenge. He composed a mock litany, in which the most respected characters of the day, and the most solemn of their proceedings, were profanely ridiculed. It begins with an allusion to the assembly by which he had been deposed.

From Glasgow Raid, to which mad meeting  
Huge troops from all quarters came fleeing,  
With dags and guns in form of war,  
All loyal subjects to debar;  
Where bishops might not show their faces,  
And mushroom elders filled their places:  
From such mad pranks of Cather's,  
Almighty God deliver us!

From sitting in that convocation,  
Discharged by open proclamation,  
Who did not stir till they had ended  
All the mischief they had intended;  
From all their cobbling knobs and knacks,  
Set out in form of public acts,  
And all such pranks, &c.

From a subsequent stanza, it might perhaps be inferred, that Forrester had endeavoured to publish a pamphlet in favour of the episcopal cause, but was prevented by the covenanters having command of the printing house:—

From usurping the king's press,  
So that no book could have access,  
Which might maintain the king's just title,  
Or cross the covenant ne'er so little;



It's strange, though true, books of that strain,  
Are barred under the highest pain,  
And all such pranks, &c.

Some other specimens of this curious but ribald effusion of anti-covenanating wrath, are subjoined:—

From one thing said, another seen,  
From the outrage done to Aberdeen;  
From hollow hearts and hollow faces,  
From ridiculous prayers and graces;  
From peremptorie reprobation,  
From Henderson's rebaptization,<sup>1</sup>  
And all such pranks, &c.

From turn-coat preachers' supplications,  
And from their mental reservations,  
From lawless excommunications,  
From laics' household congregations,  
From unsupportable taxations—  
Thir are the covenanting actions,  
And all such pranks, &c.

From Dunse Law's rebels rabbled out,  
Rascals from all quarters sought out;  
Fair England's forces to defeat,  
Without armour, money, or meat:  
True, some had forks, some roustie dags,  
And some had bannocks in their bags,  
And all such pranks, &c.

From the Tables' emissaries,  
From mutineers of all degrees:  
Priests, lords, judges, and clerks of towns,  
Proud citizens, poor country clowns;  
Who in all courses disagree,  
But join to cross authority,  
From all such pranks, &c.

From Will Dick,<sup>2</sup> that usurious chuff,  
His feathered cap, his coat of buff;  
For all the world a saddled sow,  
A worthie man and general too;  
From both the Duries, these mad sparks,  
One bribing judge, two cheating clerks,  
And all such pranks, &c.

From the most stupid senseless ass  
That ever brayed, my cousin Cass,

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the celebrated Alexander Henderson, who at first was an episcopalian.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated provost of Edinburgh, who contributed so much "*sinew*" to the covenanting war.

<sup>3</sup> Probably meaning Sir Thomas Hope of Carse, lord-advocate—the chief legal adviser of the Covenanters. No description could be more unjust than that in the text, though the verse is certainly a witty one.

He is the assembly's voice, and so,  
 Th' assembly is his echo.  
 The fool speaks first, and all the rest  
 To say the same are ready prest,  
 And all such pranks, &c.

The poet concludes with the two following stanzas :

From noble beggars, beggar-makers,  
 From all bold and blood undertakers,  
 From hungry catch-poles, knighted louns,  
 From perfumed puppies and baboons,  
 From caterpillars, moths, and rats,  
 Horse-leeches, state blood-sucking bats,  
 And all such pranks, &c.

From Sandie Hall, and Sandie Gibson,  
 Sandie Kinneir, and Sandie Johnston,  
 Whose knavery made then covenanters,  
 To keep their necks out of the helms  
 Of falsehood, greed, when you'll't name,  
 Of treachery they think no shame ;  
 Yet these the mates of Catherus,  
 From whence good Lord deliver us !<sup>4</sup>

Of the ultimate fate of this strange satirist we have met with no record.

FORSYTH, WILLIAM, distinguished in the science of arboriculture, was born at Old Meldrum, in Aberdeenshire, in 1737. Having been bred to the business of a gardener, he went to London in 1763, and soon after became a pupil of the celebrated Philip Miller, gardener to the company of apothecaries, at their physic-garden in Chelsea. In 1771, he succeeded his master in this respectable situation, in which he remained till 1784, when he was appointed by George III. chief superintendent of the royal gardens at Kensington and St James's, which employments he held till his death.

About the year 1768, Mr Forsyth paid particular attention to the cultivation of fruit and forest trees, and turned his thoughts more especially to the discovery of a composition to remedy the diseases and injuries incident to them. After repeated trials, he at length succeeded in preparing one which fully answered his expectations ; and in the year 1789, the success of his experiments attracted the notice of the commissioners of the land revenue, upon whose recommendation a committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to report upon the merits of his discovery. The result of their inquiries was a perfect conviction of its utility, and in consequence, an address was voted by the house of commons to his majesty, praying that a reward might be granted to Mr Forsyth, upon his disclosing the secret of his composition to the public ; which was accordingly done : and in 1791, Mr Forsyth published his "Observations on the diseases, defects, and injuries of fruit and forest trees," which also contains the correspondence between the commissioners of the land revenue, the committee of parliament, and himself. In 1802, he published the final result of his labours in "A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees." In this work, or in Rees's Cyclopaedia, article "Composition for trees," may be found a complete account of Mr Forsyth's discoveries and mode of treat-

<sup>4</sup> We copy these extracts from an exceedingly curious volume, entitled "A Book of Scottish Pasquils," printed in 1823. Catherus is a cant word for puritan, formed from the Greek, *Katares, puri*.

ing injured wood. It may be sufficient here to mention, that his composition, or medicament, was formed according to the following receipt: "Take one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings, (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable,) half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand; the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed; then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms."

Mr Forsyth, who was a member of the Antiquarian, Linnean, and other societies, died July 25, 1804. He enjoyed the honours paid to him for his useful invention, with an unaffected modesty, which gave them a higher grace; and his benevolence and private worth were warmly attested by his friends. A particular genus of plants has been named Forsythia, in honour of his name.

FOULIS, ROBERT AND ANDREW, eminent printers in the eighteenth century, were natives of Glasgow, and were born, the elder brother on the 20th of April, 1707, and the younger on the 23d of November, 1712. Their mother, who seems to have possessed shrewdness and intelligence beyond her station, educated them at first under her own care, and had not Robert's talents attracted attention, they would probably never have proceeded farther in the acquisition of knowledge. At an early age Robert was sent an apprentice to a barber; it would even seem that he afterwards practised the art on his own account for some time. While thus humbly employed, he came under the notice of the celebrated Dr Francis Hutcheson, then professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow university. This acute observer discovered his talents,—inflamed his desire for knowledge,—and suggested to him the idea of becoming a bookseller and printer. Foulis did not, however, receive a complete university education, although he attended his patron's lectures for several years, and his name is so enrolled in the matriculation book. Andrew, who seems to have been designed for the church, entered the university in 1727, and probably went through a regular course of study.

For some years after they had determined to follow a literary life, the brothers were engaged in teaching the languages during the winter, and in making short tours into England and to the continent in summer. These excursions were of great advantage to them; they brought them into contact with eminent men, enabled them to form connexions in their business, and extended their knowledge of books. On some of these occasions they made considerable collections, which they sold at home to good account. Thus prepared, the elder brother began business in Glasgow as a bookseller about the end of 1739, and in the following year published several works. Three years afterwards his connexion with the university commenced. In March, 1743, he was appointed their printer, under condition "that he shall not use the designation of university printer without allowance from the university meeting in any books excepting those of ancient authors."<sup>1</sup> The first productions of his press, which were issued in 1742, were almost exclusively of a religious nature, many of them relating to the well known George Whitefield. In 1742, he published Demetrius Phalerens de Elocutione, apparently the first Greek work printed in Glasgow, although we are certain that there existed a fount of Greek letters there nearly a century before. It would be tedious to notice each work as it appeared: the immaculate edition of Horace, an edition of Cicero's works in twenty volumes, Caesar's Commentaries in folio, Callimachus in the same size, with engravings executed at their academy, form but a small part of the splendid catalogue of their classics.

<sup>1</sup> The date at which Andrew joined him in business is somewhat uncertain.

The success which had attended their exertions as printers, induced the elder Foulis to attempt the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of the fine arts, a scheme for which Scotland was but ill prepared by the dimensions which had followed the union, and which had been succeeded by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In 1751, he went abroad, partly with the view of extending his commercial connexions, but principally with the intention of arranging for the establishment of this institution. After remaining on the continent for about two years, and sending home several artists whom he had engaged in his service, he returned to Scotland in 1753. His design was considered romantic; many of his friends exerted all their eloquence to persuade him to desist. But Foulis, who possessed a degree of determination which might perhaps not unjustly be termed obstinacy, was fixed in his "high resolve," and although he must have observed with mortification, that (to use his own expression) "there seemed to be a pretty general emulation who should run the scheme most down," he established his academy in the course of the same year. He soon found that he had embarked in an undertaking of no common difficulty. From a letter in the *Scots Magazine* for 1759, it appears that the selection of proper teachers had cost him much trouble and anxiety. He had to contend, besides, with the national prejudices in favour of the works of foreign artists; and after amassing a considerable collection, he found it extremely difficult to dispose of it to advantage. In the same year it was proposed, that such persons as were willing to support the institution should advance certain sums yearly, for which they should be entitled to select prints, designs, paintings, &c. to the amount of their subscriptions.

In the meantime, the operations of their press went on with increasing vigour. If we may judge from the catalogue of their books, the period between 1750 and 1757, seems to have been the most flourishing era in their trade. During that time "Proposals for publishing" by subscription the whole works of Plato" were issued, and considerable progress made in collating MSS. in the Vatican and national libraries. But the embarrassments occasioned by the ill-fated academy seem to have prevented the publication of this as well as many other works, which might have added much both to their fame and their wealth. Yet while we condemn the obstinacy with which this institution was carried on, when it was a daily source of anxiety and pecuniary difficulties, it should be remembered, that it was the means of bringing forward the "Scottish Hogarth," David Allan, and Tassie the medalist. The latter of these, while a stone mason, acquired a relish for the arts in visiting the academy on a holiday, when the pictures were generally exhibited gratis.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to notice the various books which issued from the Foulis press at this and subsequent periods. It may be sufficient to say, that in the latter part of their history the brothers seem to have lost much of their original energy, and the celebrity of their press may be considered as expiring with their folio edition of Milton, published in 1770. They continued, indeed, to print till the death of Andrew, which took place suddenly on the 18th of September, 1775; but many of the works published at that period were of inferior workmanship.

We shall close the history of these remarkable but unfortunate men in a few

<sup>2</sup> As a curious estimate of the expense of classical reading in these days, we extract the first article in the proposals. "I. In nine volumes in quarto, of which the Greek in six volumes and the Latin translation with the notes in three. The price to subscribers, one penny sterling per sheet. The whole will be contained in about 500 sheets, so the price will be about £2, 1s. 8d. in quires, on a fair paper. A number will be printed on a fine large paper at twopence sterling per sheet."

words. After the death of the younger brother, it was determined to expose the works belonging to the academy to public sale. For this purpose Robert, accompanied by a confidential workman, went to London about the month of April, 1776. Contrary to the advice of the auctioneer, and at a period when the market was glutted by yearly importations of pictures from Paris, his collection was sold off,—and, as the reader may have anticipated, greatly under their supposed value. Irritated at the failure of this his last hope, and with a constitution exhausted by calamities, he left London and reached Edinburgh on his way homeward. On the morning on which he intended setting out for Glasgow he expired almost instantaneously, in the 69th year of his age.

Robert Foulis was twice married. From his second marriage with a daughter of Mr Boutcher, a seedsman in Edinburgh, was descended the late Andrew Foulis, who died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, in 1829. He had, besides, by his first marriage with Elizabeth Moor, a sister of the celebrated Grecian, five daughters; all of whom are now dead.

Of the Scottish works produced at the Foulis press the greater number were ballads, some of them original, and all of them since published in the collections of bishop Percy, Ritson, Cromek, &c. The "Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain" in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., published by Lord Hailes, principally from the Denmylne MSS. in the Advocates' Library, were also published at Glasgow. But the greatest service that they could have performed for Scottish history, would have been the publication of Calderwood's MS. history. This they undoubtedly had in view. It appears from the records of the university of Glasgow that they got permission to borrow their MS.<sup>3</sup> in September, 1768. They did not, however, accomplish their patriotic purpose, and this valuable work still remains accessible only to the historian and the antiquary. Let us hope that the period is not far distant, when some of the clubs of the present day shall immortalize themselves by laying it before the public.<sup>4</sup>

FRASER, SIMON, twelfth lord Lovat, a person too remarkable in history to be overlooked in this work, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion, was the second son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the laird of Macleod, and was born at Beaufort, near Inverness, in the year 1667. Of his early years we have no very distinct account. He has himself asserted that, at the age of thirteen, he was imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause, though we do not well see how this could happen. That his elder brother, however, was in the insurrection of the viscount Dundee, and himself, after the death of Dundee, in that under general Buchan, is certain. After all the pains his lordship has been at to set forth his extreme zeal for the Stuarts, nothing can be more evident than that, from his earliest days, the sole purpose of his life was to promote his own power by all feasible means, this end being the only object of his solicitude. Agreeably to this view of his character, we find him in the year 1694, while yet a student at the university of Aberdeen, accepting of a commission in the regiment of lord Murray, afterwards earl of Tullibardine. This commission had been procured for him by his cousin, Hugh lord Lovat, who was brother-in-law to lord Murray, with the express view of bringing him "forward most advantageously in the world;" and though he professed to have scruples in going against the interest of king James, these were all laid asleep by an assurance, on the part of lord Murray, that the regiment, though ostensibly

<sup>3</sup> It is not, however, the original MS.

<sup>4</sup> Abridged from a volume entitled "Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow," presented by Richard Duncan, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

raised, and in the meantime to take the oaths to, and receive the pay of king William, was really intended for king James, who would not fail to be in the country to lay claim to and revive his rights in the course of the succeeding year. No sooner had young Beaufort received this assurance than he led into the regiment a complete company, almost entirely made up of the young gentlemen of his clan. In the course of the succeeding year, lord Murray was, by the favour of king William, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and, in place of doing any thing for king James, enforced upon every officer in his regiment the oath of abjuration.

Being a young man, at liberty to follow out his education, and in the regular receipt of his pay, Beaufort, it might have been supposed, would have found his situation comfortable, and been, in some measure, content; but his spirit seems to have been naturally restless, and any thing like an under part in the drama of life did not square with his disposition. In the course of the year 1696, a company of lord Murray's regiment being stationed at the castle of Edinburgh, where the earl Marischal, lord Drummond, and other of the Jacobite lords were imprisoned, a visit from the Pretender being at the time expected, Simon, the subject of this narrative, entered into an engagement with the rebel lords to seize upon the castle, and to hold it under the earl Marischal for the French and king James. In this project, which appears not to have been executed, only because the French were unable to make the promised demonstration, Beaufort was to have been assisted by another captain of the same regiment, who seems to have been equally faithless and equally servile with himself.

But while he was thus careful to watch the tides, and to take advantage of every wind that might ruffle the ocean of politics, his eye was steadily fixed upon the estate of Lovat, which, as his cousin Hugh lord Lovat had but one child, a daughter, he had already marked out as his own. For this end he seems to have embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his cousin, who appears to have been a man of a facile and vacillating disposition, and to have been considerably under the influence of lord Murray, his brother-in-law. Of this influence, Simon of Beaufort was perfectly aware, and watched with the utmost assiduity an opportunity to destroy it. This opportunity lord Murray himself afforded him in the affair of the colonelcy of the regiment, which, upon his appointment to the office of secretary, it was expected he would have given up to his brother-in-law, lord Lovat. Nor is it at all unlikely that such was originally his lordship's intention; for, in the year 1696, he sent for him to London, apparently with the intention of doing so, after having presented him to the king. Lovat unfortunately carried along with him his cousin, Simon, whose character must, by this time, have been pretty well known to king William, and whose companionship, of course, could be no great recommendation to the royal favour. Lovat was, however, presented to the royal presence, most graciously received, and gratified with a promise of being provided for. As this was all that Lovat expected, he took leave of his majesty, along with lord Murray, leaving no room for William to suppose, for the present at least, that he either wished or had any occasion for a further interview. This his cousin Simon highly resented, telling him that it was a contrivance of lord Murray's to deprive him of an opportunity of soliciting a regiment for himself, and he prevailed with him instantly to demand of lord Murray the reason for which he had brought them at this time to London, at such an enormous expense. Lord Murray frankly told him that it was his design to have resigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had positively enjoined him to keep it in his own hands till such time as the

rumours of an invasion should subside, when he should certainly surrender it into his hands.

Had Lovat been left to himself, this answer would most probably have been altogether satisfactory ; but it did not satisfy Simon nor his friends lord Tarbat and Alexander Mackenzie, son to the earl of Seaforth, both of whom were at that time in London, and were of service to Beaufort in persuading lord Lovat that lord Murray had been all along his mortal enemy. By the advice of all three, Lovat sent back to lord Murray two commissions, that of captain and lieutenant-colonel, which he held under him, expressing, at the same time, in strong language, his resentment of his treachery, and his fixed resolution never more to see him nor any individual of his family, excepting his own wife. At the same time that the poor old man was thus eager in casting off his old friends, he was equally warm in his attachment to the new. "Impressed with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the resolution he manifested never to leave him, he declared that he regarded him as his own son ;" and as he had executed, at his marriage, some papers which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of this said adopted son, he obliged him to send for an attorney, and made a universal bequest to him of all his estates, in case he died without male issue. This affectionate conduct on the part of lord Lovat, deeply, according to his own account of the matter, affected our hero, who pretended "that he would for ever consider him as his father." In consequence of so much anxious business, so much chagrin and disappointment, with a pretty reasonable attendance on taverns, lord Lovat fell sick ; but after convalescing a little, was brought on his way home as far as Edinburgh by his affectionate Simon, where he left him, proceeding by the way of Dunkeld to meet with his wife. He had not been many days at Dunkeld when he again fell sick, and retired to an inn at Perth, where he was again waited on by Simon of Beaufort, and, in a state of distraction, died in his arms the morning after his arrival.

Though, as we have seen, the subject of this memoir had got a deed executed by a London attorney under the direction of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, constituting him heir to the estate, it was judged by him the more prudent method to put forward his father, as the nearest male heir, to take possession of the estate, with the honours, contenting himself with the title of master of Lovat. No sooner, however, had he assumed this title than he was questioned on the subject by his colonel, now lord Tullibardine, who made him the offer of a regiment, with other preferments, which should be to him an ample provision for life, provided he would execute a formal surrender of his claim to that dignity. This produced a violent altercation between them, which ended in the master of Lovat throwing up his commission, which he bade his lordship, if he pleased, bestow upon his own footman. Through the friendship of Sir Thomas Livingston, however, he received another company in the regiment of Macgill, and his father having taken possession of the estate and the honours of Lovat, without much apparent opposition, he must have been, in some degree, satisfied with his good fortune. In order, however, to secure it, and to render his claims in every respect unexceptionable, he made love to the heiress of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, and had succeeded in persuading her to marry him, without the knowledgo of her friends, when one of his agents betrayed trust, and she was carried out of his way by the marquis of Athol, after the day of the marriage had actually been appointed.

The marquis of Athol, late lord Tullibardine, probably aware that he had an adversary of no common activity to deal with, lost no time in concluding a match for the heiress with lord Salton, or Fraser, whom he also took measures

for having declared head of the clan Fraser. The first part of his plan was not difficult to have been executed; but the latter part, for which the first was alone contemplated, was not of so easy a character, being opposed to the spirit of Highland clanship. A considerable time, however, was spent in attempting to bring it to bear. A few Frasers only could be brought to engage in it; whose treachery no sooner came to the ears of the lord and the master of Lovat, than orders were issued to apprehend and punish them according to their deserts; and it was only by a timely and well-concerted flight that they escaped being hanged. A letter was, at the same time, sent to lord Salton, signed by the principal men of the clan, begging him not to attempt forcing himself upon them, and thus destroying their tranquillity, and endangering his own life. Salton returned a soft answer; but, confident in the power of the marquis of Athol, and, at any rate, in love with the consequence attached to the fair estate of Lovat, whether he was in love with the heiress or not, persevered in following out his plan, and with a considerable train of retainers came to Beaufort, at that time the residence of the dowager of Lovat, whose son-in-law he intended to be. Thomas, lord Lovat, happened to be at this time on the Stratherrick estate, a district which stretches along the south bank of Lochness, and was requested by his son Simon, to cross the lake by the nearest way to Lovat, which is only three miles from Beaufort, in order to meet with lord Salton, while he himself hastened to the same place by the way of Inverness. At Inverness the master learned that lord Salton, persevering in his original design, had fully matured his plans at the house of the dowager lady Lovat, whence he intended next day to return into his own country, calling at Athol, and marrying the heiress of Lovat by the way, without waiting to see either the lord or the master of Lovat. Irritated, as well as alarmed by this intelligence, he wrote by a special messenger to lord Salton, calling upon him to adhere to his word "passed both to his father and himself, and to meet him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with sword and pistols, as he pleased." This letter lord Salton received at six o'clock in the evening, and returned for answer that he would meet the master of Lovat at the time and place appointed, as his good friend and humble servant. In the meantime it was concluded by him and his followers to break up from their present quarters, and to pass the bridge of Inverness before the master of Lovat could have any suspicion of their being in motion, and thus escape a meeting with him for the present. The master, however, was too good a calculator of probabilities in this sort of intercourse to be thus taken in, especially as his messenger to lord Salton, from what he had observed at Beaufort, had strong suspicions of what was intended. He was, accordingly, at the road very early in the morning, attended by six gentlemen and two servants, all well mounted and armed, and meeting lord Salton, lord Mungo Murray, and their followers, to the number of forty, issuing from a defile in the wood of Bunchrive, about five miles from Inverness, disarmed and dismounted them; first lord Mungo Murray, then lord Salton, and the rest singly as they came forward, without stroke of sword or the firing of a single musket. Though the party of the master of Lovat was so inconsiderable at the outset, lord Salton and his party soon found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of enraged enemies, by whom, under the direction of the master, they were carried prisoners to the castle of Fanellan, where they were closely shut up under a certification that they should be all hanged for their attempt to intrude themselves into the inheritance, and to deprive the owner of his lawful and hereditary rights. Nor had they any right to consider this as a mere bravado: the history



of clan wars could easily furnish them with numerous examples of such barbarous atrocity, where there was not greater provocation.

Having thus completely marred the marriage of lord Salton, the master of Lovat immediately set about the celebration of his own. The heiress of Lovat was safe in the hands of her friends at Athol; but the dowager, her mother, was in the house of Beaufort, every avenue to which he beset with his followers, so that it was out of her power to inform her friends of any thing that was going on; then, entering the house with a parson, whether catholic or episcopal is unknown, he made the lady go through the form of marriage with himself, had her forcibly undressed and put to bed, whither he as forcibly followed her before witnesses, thus constituting it, as he supposed, a lawful marriage. This is one of the most atrocious of the many revolting actions in the life of this profligate nobleman, though one to which he has given a flat denial in the memoir which he has written of himself. The truth is, it was as foolish as it was wicked; and, after the purpose for which it was committed, viz. to remove the enmity of the Athol family, had utterly failed, he himself must have been heartily ashamed of it. There is, indeed, a total falsehood in one reason that he insists upon as proving its improbability. She was old enough, he says, to have been his mother. Now she was only four years older than himself, having died at Perth in the year 1743, in the eightieth year of her age. She had been either so frightened by him, or so cajoled, as to offer, if we may believe the duke of Argyll, writing to the Rev. Mr Carstairs, to give her oath before the court of justiciary that all that had passed between her and Lovat was voluntary, and as much her inclination as his; and she lived to hear him deny his being at all concerned with her, and to see him twice afterwards married.

But to return from this short digression. Having, as he supposed, put himself in a fair way for being acknowledged by the house of Athol, the master of Lovat abandoned the idea of hanging so many of the members and allies belonging to it, as he had in custody in his castle of Fanellan, contenting himself with extorting a bond from lord Salton for eight thousand pounds, with four low-country barons as his sureties, if he ever again interfered with the affairs of the estate of Lovat, or if ever he or the marquis of Athol prosecuted any one individual for any thing that had been transacted in this whole affair. This was only a little more of the same folly which had guided him through the whole business, and tended but to excite the wonder of his friends, and the hatred and contempt of his enemies, the latter of whom, on a representation to the privy council, had him intercommuned, and letters of fire and sword issued out against him and all his clan. This, though perfectly in the natural order of human affairs, was altogether unexpected by the master of Lovat, and seems to have reduced him to great extremity. Besides the family of Athol, which was much more powerful than his own, troops were ready to pour in upon him from all quarters, and even those upon whom he depended for counsel and assistance seem at the time to have declared against him. To the laird of Culloiden, we find him writing from Beaufort in the month of October, 1697. "Thir Lda. att Inverness, w<sup>t</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> rest of my implacable enemies, does so confound my wife, that she is uneasy till she see them. I am afraid they are so mad with this disappointment, that they will propose something to her that's dangerous, her brother having such power with her; so that really till things be perfectly accommodate, I do not desire they should see her, and I know not how to manage her. So I hope you will send all the advice you can to your obliged, &c. &c. I hope you will excuse me for not going your length, since I have such a hard task at home." The advice given him by Culloiden has

not been preserved; but that it was not to his mind, we learn from a letter written by that gentleman from Inverleithy, about ten or twelve days after. "I am much concerned," says he, "that your neighbour Beaufort hath played not the fool but the madman. If, by your persussion, he cannot be induced to deliver up the so much abused lady upon assurance of pardon, in all probability he will ruin both himself and his friends. 'Tis not long since he was here, and promised me other things; but since he has run a quite contrary course, and stands neither to his own nor the proposals of any other, I have sent down two hundred men," &c. &c. This view of the matter is still further confirmed by another letter from Lovat to Culloden, a few days after the above, when he seems to have felt that he was pretty much in the power of his enemies. "I pray you receive the inclosed account of my business, and see if your own conscience, in the sight of God, do not convince you that it is literally true. I had sent to you upon Saturday last, but you were not at home; however, I sent it that day to the laird of Calder, who, I hope, will not sit down upon me, but transmit it to my best friends; and I beseech you, sir, for God's sake, that you do the like. I know the chancellor is a just man, notwithstanding his friendship for Tullibardine. I forgive you for betraying of me; but neither you, nor I, nor I hope God himself, will not forgive them that deceived you, and caused you do it. I am very hopeful in my dear wife's constancy, if they do not put her to death. Now, I add no more, but leaves myself to your discretion," &c. At the same time his father, lord Lovat, wrote to the duke of Argyle an explanatory letter upon the subject, signed by himself and all the principal Frasers. The great benefit of the marriage to the estate of Lovat is chiefly insisted on in this letter, and represented as the sole cause of the enmity of the Athol family; who, it states, wished to appropriate that fair domain to themselves. Argyle, on the receipt of this letter, wrote to Mr Carstairs, who was king William's principal adviser in all that related to Scotland, and, after a considerable length of time, was gratified by receiving the pardon he had solicited for all the treasons with which his client had been charged, leaving the story of the rape for a subject of future investigation. For this also, had there been a little patience and prudence exercised, there cannot be a doubt but he would have obtained a full remission.

To be out of the way of this storm at its commencement, lord Lovat had taken shelter in the island of Skye, with his brother-in-law the laird of Macleod, where he died in the beginning of 1698. Simon, who had defended himself in the best manner he could, then assumed the title of lord Lovat, but to escape the rage and superior strength of his enemies, was also under the necessity of taking refuge in the isles, where he remained till the following year, when the duke of Argyle, with the promise of a pardon, brought him to London. Delays took place, however, in procuring his remission to pass the Scottish seals, till the king set out for the United Provinces, and Lovat took an excursion into France, for the purpose of lodging, at the court of St Germain's, a complaint against the marquis of Athol, and soliciting James's protection against the malignity of his powerful family. Having obtained his request, and been enjoined by the exiled monarch to wait on and make his peace with king William, Lovat proceeded by the way of London to the court of that sovereign, at Leu, being favoured with a letter from the duke of Argyle to Mr Carstairs, through whom he received a remission, he himself says, of all crimes that could be imputed to him, but restricted by Seafield in passing the Scottish seals, as has been above stated. With this remission, such as it was, he ventured to make his appearance in public, had a citation served upon the marquis of Athol and his family for falsely accusing him, and for devastating his estates; and, making a

progress through the north, returned to Edinburgh with a hundred gentlemen as honourable as himself, to support his charges, and bear witness to the innocence and integrity of his character; or rather to browbeat the authorities, and exert from fear a decision which he well knew could never be procured from the voice of truth and justice. Finding, however, that he had undertaken what would fail him in the issue, he once more set out for London, the day before the trial should have come on, and was nonsuited in his absence; and thus, by his imprudent temerity, lost the opportunity of being fairly instated in the estate and honour of Lovat, as he would certainly have been, through the interest of Argyle and his other friends, had he allowed them to do their own work in their own way.

The restoration of king James was now Lovat's sheet anchor; and, lest the Murrays, whom he suspected of being warmer friends to James than he was himself, should also be before him here, it was necessary for him to be peculiarly forward. Accordingly, on the death of king William in the early part of the year 1702, he procured a commission from several of the principal Scottish Jacobites to the court of St Germain's, declaring their being ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the restoration of their lawful prince; as usual, paying all manner of respect to the court of Versailles, and requesting its assistance. With this, he proceeded by the way of England and Holland, and reached the court of St Germain's about the beginning of September, 1702; just in time to be particularly useful in inflaming the contentions that distracted the councils of James VIII., for the direction of whose affairs there was a most violent struggle among his few followers. He had for his fellow-traveller his cousin-german, Sir John Maclean, well known in the history of the intrigues of that time, who, leaving him at Paris, was his precursor to the court of St Germain's, whence in two days he returned to conduct him into the presence of the duke of Perth, from whom he received private instructions how to conduct himself towards the queen. The principal of these was to request of the queen that she should not make known any part of what he proposed to lord Middleton, who, at the time, was the rival of lord Perth for the supreme direction of their affairs, which might be said to lie chiefly in sending out spies, fabricating reports, and soliciting pensions. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lovat, the very elements of whose being seemed to be mystery, and with whom to intrigue was as natural as to breathe. To work he went, exacted the queen's promise to keep every thing secret from Middleton; and by the aid of the marquis de Torcy, the marquis Callieres, and cardinal Gualterio, the pope's nuncio, fancied himself sole administrator of the affairs of Scotland. The queen herself was so much pleased with the opening scene, that she gladdened the heart of Lovat, by telling him she had sent her jewels to Paris to be sold, in order to raise the twenty thousand crowns he had told her were necessary for bringing forward his Highlanders in a properly effective manner. But she was not long true to her promise of secrecy; and Middleton at once depicted Lovat as "the greatest traitor in the three kingdoms;" nor did he treat his favourite Highlanders with any more respect, representing them as mere banditti, excellent at plundering the Lowlanders, and carrying off their cattle, but incapable of being formed into a regular corps that would look a well appointed enemy in the face. From this day forward, Lovat seems to have fallen in the opinion of Mary d'Este, who was a woman of rather superior talents, though he seems to have gone on well with de Torcy, Callieres, and Gualterio, who found in him, as they supposed, a very fit tool for their purpose of raising in Scotland a civil war, without much caring whether it really promoted the interests of James or not. After much intriguing with Perth and

Middleton, as well as with the French ministry, Lovat obtained a commission to visit Scotland in 1703, but rather as an emissary of the French government, than an accredited agent for James. The object of the French government was to have an immediate diversion created in the Highlands, and they furnished his lordship with six thousand francs (£250) to defray the expenses of his journey, and a commission to be a major-general, with power to raise troops and appoint officers, as he should find needful. At the same time, to be the witness of his behaviour, they joined with him John Murray of Abercairney, a gentleman who ought to have been ashamed of such a companion as Lovat, and had the address to send James Murray, brother to Murray of Stanhope, so as to be in Scotland at least a month before him, where he told it openly, that Lovat was on his way, as agent for the pope and the king of France, to raise a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the positive orders of the king and his mother the queen. Owing to this and the well known character of Lovat, many of the Jacobites were shy of communicating with him, though he certainly found a few willing to depend upon his promises, and to enter into his projects. His principal object, however, most probably was to see if there were yet any openings whereby he might reconcile himself with the government, and be allowed to take possession of the estate of Lovat, the first and the last grand object of his ambition. He accordingly threw himself in the way of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed all—perhaps more than he knew, respecting his old friend, lord Murray, now, by the death of his brother and the queen's favour, duke of Athol, and his associate in politics, the duke of Hamilton; but his best friend the duke of Argyle dying at this time, he appears to have obtained nothing more than a free passport, and perhaps some promises in case of further discoveries; and with this he passed again into France. Having, while in London fallen in with, or rather been introduced to, a well known Jacobite, William Keith, and the well known framer of plots, Ferguson, who was shortly after taken up, the whole of his transaction took air before he had time to reach Paris. The companion of his travels, too, Sir John Maclean, coming to England about the same time, surrendered himself prisoner, and, in consideration of obtaining his liberty and a small pension, laid open the whole of Lovat's proceedings from first to last, so that he was discovered to both courts at the same time. The reader, however, if he supposes that Lovat felt any pain at these discoveries, is in a great mistake. They were unquestionably the very events he wished, and from which he expected to rise in worldly estimation and in wealth, which is too often the chief pillar upon which that estimation is founded. There was at this period, among all parties, a thirst for emolument which was perfectly ravenous, and scrupled at no means by which it might attain its gratification. Of this fatal propensity, the present affair is a remarkable instance. Lovat had received from king James the present of his picture, which, with a commission for a regiment of infantry, he had inclosed in a box made for the purpose. This, on leaving Scotland, he committed to his friend, Campbell of Glendaruel, to keep for him, and his back was scarcely turned when Glendaruel went to the duke of Athol, and offered him the box, with its contents, provided he would give him a company in a regiment that was held by Campbell of Finab, and was worth about one hundred and seventy pounds a year, which he at once obtained, and the box with its contents was in a short time lodged in the hands of queen Anne. Lovat, in his memoirs, relates the transaction, and exclaims against its treachery, though it was wholly his own contrivance; the box being given for the express purpose of procuring a pension for his friend, and giving Anne and her ministers ocular demonstration of his own importance.

On his arrival in France, lord Lovat found the earl of Middleton and the exiled queen, as much opposed to him and his projects as ever, but he continued his assiduities with the French courtiers, who informed him, that he might expect very soon to be the first of the Scottish nobility, since he would be called on to head the insurrection not only as a general officer to king James, but as a general officer in the army of France; every thing necessary for the success of the expedition, land forces, a squadron of ships, arms, and ammunition, being already prepared, and nothing remaining to be done but the form of carrying it through the privy council, which a day or two would accomplish. In a day or two it was proposed in the council, when the king himself declared, that, though he had the highest opinion of the excellence of the proposed plan, the queen of England had positively refused to sign commissions for her subjects to engage in it, and therefore, for the present it was necessary to lay it aside. This was a sad blow to the hopes of Lovat; and being always fond of letter-writing, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that she had at one blow overturned a project which he had sacrificed his property and exposed his life to bring to perfection; and he affirmed, that, so long as her majesty followed implicitly the advice of the people who were at the head of the English parliament, Jesus Christ would come in the clouds before her son would be restored; and he concluded by saying, that, for his own part, he would never draw a sword for the royal cause, so long as the regency was in her majesty's hands.

In consequence of this letter, lord Lovat was at the queen's instance imprisoned thirty-two days in a dark dungeon, three years in the castle of Angoulême, and seven years in the city of Saumur. In the meantime the project was not abandoned. Colonel Hooke succeeded to the part that Lovat had played or attempted to play. A large armament, under admiral Forbin, was fitted out in the year 1708, and in which James himself embarked, and had a sight of the Scottish shore, when meeting with admiral Byng and afterwards encountering a violent storm, the whole was driven back upon the French coast, with great loss. In this expedition the friends of Lovat had requested James to employ him, and they had received the most determined refusal, which finally, with the failure of the expedition, cut off all his hopes from that quarter. What added greatly to the bitterness of his reflections, the heiress of Lovat was now married to Mr Alexander Mackenzie, (son of lord Prestonhall,) who had assumed the title of Fraserdale, with the estate of Lovat settled on him for life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage, who were to bear the name of Fraser, and of which there were already more than one. Thus circumstanced, he confessed, that he "would not merely have enlisted himself in the party of the house of Hanover, which was called to the crown of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by all the states of the kingdom, but with any foreign prince in the universe, who would have assisted him in the attainment of his just and laudable design of re-establishing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St Germain." In this state of mind he formed the resolution of escaping from Saumur, in company with some English prisoners, and throwing himself at the feet of the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, entreating them to interpose in his favour with queen Anne. This design circumstances prevented him from executing; but he transmitted on various occasions, letters to the duke of Argyle and others of his friends, upon whom he supposed he could depend, stating the determination he had come to, and requesting their good offices to effect his reconciliation with the queen. Some of these letters were returned to the court of St Germain, shown to the court of France, and nearly occasioned his being shut up in the Bastille for life. He

was very soon, however, engaged in forming another plan for the invasion of Scotland, in which he expected to be employed; but the terrible campaigns of 1710 and 1711, put it out of the power of the court of France to attend to any thing beyond domestic concerns; and the marquis de la Fuziliere, the principal friend he possessed at the French court, dying at the same time, rendered all his prospects in that country hopeless. The conclusion of peace, and the appointment of the duke of Hamilton to represent queen Anne at the court of Versailles, filled him with still more gloomy apprehensions, from which he was not delivered till he read in the public papers the fatal duel that had been fought between that nobleman and lord Mohun, when he again took courage, and applied once more to the French court to be set at liberty. The person he employed, however, had no success; his character seemed to be losing rather than gaining at that court, and he was advised to make his escape. Others, certain that the king would be immediately restored by Anne and her ministers, and was even now on the point of setting out for Scotland to be at hand when wanted, assured him that to depart for Scotland without his permission was only to rush upon inevitable destruction. This seems to have filled him with great apprehension, and he laboured to be reconciled to the Pretender with the greatest but the most fruitless industry, till he was driven to utter despair by the death of queen Anne, and tidings that all the Jacobite clans in the north were arming in behalf of James, who had again and again declared, that, without the consent of the duke of Athol, he would never bear of his name. In this dilemma, one of the Frasers arrived to request his presence with the clan, and advising him to join the party of Argyle, who was their old friend, and the only one that was likely to be able to afford them protection. He had previously to this written to Argyle, but does not seem to have had any reply. He now despatched a trusty servant to consult with him and Ilay, Culloden, Grant, Kilravock, and other of his old friends, who stated, that if he could make his way safely to London, the business was done. This at once determined him to set out for England, taking the best precautions he could to avoid being arrested. On the 1st of November, 1714, after an imprisonment of ten years, he arrived at Dover, where, on account of extreme fatigue, he rested for one night. He then, by a journey of two days, arrived safely in London.

Here his first care was to despatch his trusty friends, James and Alexander Fraser, for the earl of Ilay and brigadier-general Grant. The brigadier lost not a moment in waiting on him, expressed great joy to see him safe and well, and assured him of every good office in his power. Ilay, on the contrary, expressed considerable regret at his having quitted the provision which, amid all the severe treatment he met with, had been made for him in France, while in England he had not even the security of his life, but he engaged to bring his case before the king and the prince that very night, and to let him know the result next day. The circumstances in which Lovat had thus placed himself were by no means pleasant. In Scotland there was a sentence of death in full force against him, and a price set upon his head, while he had nothing to rely upon but a precarious promise from a few friends, who, after all, might neither have the will nor the power to protect him. He was, however, too deeply embarked to draw back, and he determined, regardless of consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to take no step in his affairs but by their direction, and to live and die in their service. How happy had it been for his lordship had he never lost sight of this prudent determination. Next day Ilay informed him that he had spoken of his case both to the king and the prince, who were well disposed towards him; but,

without some security for his future loyalty, were not willing to grant him a free pardon. It would therefore be necessary for him to present an address to the king, signed by all his friends who were well affected towards the present government, and that, in this address, they should enter into an engagement for his loyalty in any sum the king pleased. Such an address as would be proper, Ilay promised to draw up, which he accordingly did two days after; and Lovat, by his trusty friend, James Fraser, immediately despatched it to the north, with the following letter to his old friend, John Forbes of Culloden, who was at the time canvassing for the county of Inverness:

"Much honoured and dear sir,—The real friendship that I know you have for my person and family makes me take the freedom to assure you of my kind service, and to entreat of you to join with my other friends betwixt Spey and Ness to sign the address the court requires in order to give me my remission. Your cousin James, who has generously exposed himself to bring me out of chains, will inform you of all the steps and circumstances of my affairs since he saw me. I wish, dear sir, you were here; I am confident you would speak to the duke of Argyll and to the earl of Ilay, to let them know their own interest and their reiterated promises to do for me. Perhaps they may have sooner than they expect a most serious occasion for my service. But it's needless now to preach that doctrine to them, they think themselves in an infallible security. I wish they may not be mistaken. However, I think it's the interest of all those who love this government betwixt Spey and Ness to see me at the head of my clan, ready to join them, so that I believe none of them will refuse to sign an address to make me a Scotchman. I am persuaded, dear sir, that you will be of good example to them on that head. But secrecy, above all, must be kept, without which all may go wrong. I hope you will be stirring for the parliament, for I will not be reconciled to you if you let Prestonhall outvote you. Brigadier Grant, to whom I am infinitely obliged, has written to Foyers to give you his vote, and he is an ingrate villain if he refuses him. If I was at home, the little pitiful barons of the Aird durst not refuse you. But I am hopeful that the news of my going to Britain will hinder Prestonhall to go north, for I may meet him when he least thinks of me. I am very impatient to see you, and to assure you most sincerely how much I am, with love and respect, right honourable," &c.

The above is a fair specimen of Lovat's manner and address in complimenting those whom he had an interest in standing well with. He had indeed use for all his activity on this occasion. The secrecy which he recommends was also very necessary, for Fraserdale no sooner heard of his intention of coming down to Scotland, which was only a few days after this, than he applied to the lord justice clerk for an extract of the process and sentence against him, no doubt with the intention of putting it in execution, before his friends should be able to interpose any shield of legal authority in his defence. All his friends, however, especially Culloden, were particularly active. The address and bond of security to the king was speedily signed by all the whig gentlemen of consequence in the north, and remitted to lord Ilay, who carried it to London in the month of March, 1715. Culloden, in the meantime, had, through his brother Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, transmitted to be presented by lord Ilay, a most loyal address to the king; signed by the Frasers, with a tender of their clan to Argyll as their chief. This was intended to counterbalance the address of the Jacobites that had been transmitted to the earl of Marr, but which he durst not present, and to strengthen the interest of Argyll, which the other was calculated to weaken. Through the opposition of the duke of Montrose, however, who had been gained over by Prestonhall and the

duke of Athol, Lovat's business was protracted till the month of July, 1715; when the news of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion of Great Britain, transmitted by the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, and the general ferment that prevailed through the country, had aroused the fears of the government. Ilay availed himself of these circumstances for turning the attention of the English minister more particularly to that too long delayed affair. The addresses which had been obtained in his favour were then given in to his majesty, whose gracious pardon he obtained, and in October, making the best of his way for the north, he was arrested by a loyal party at Dumfries as a Jacobite. Referring for his character to the marquis of Annandale, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and to whom he was known, he was immediately set at liberty. Here he volunteered his services to lead a party of the townsmen in attacking the rebels in their quarters at Lochmaben, but the attack after it had been resolved on was abandoned through the prudent advice of the marquis of Annandale, who was afraid of the consequences both to themselves and the good cause in which they were engaged.

Leaving Dumfries, his lordship found his way into the north, where the insurgents were nearly triumphant, being in possession of the whole country save the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Caithness, with perhaps a detached castle or two in some of the neighbouring counties. Among these was the castle of Culloden. The Grants and the Munroes had also been able in some measure to preserve their own territories; but the rebels were every where around them in great force. The first of Lovat's proceedings was to hold a counsel with his general, as he long after called him, Duncan Forbes, and his brother the laird of Culloden, who was, perhaps, the most trust-worthy man in the north; after which he went home, where he was waited upon by a considerable number of Frasers, with whom he marched for Stratherrick, one of his estates, and by the way compelled the clan Chattan to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes. Macdonald of Keppoch, too, who had three hundred men assembled on the braes of Abertarf, dismissed them the moment he was apprized of Lovat's approach. At Stratherrick he was waited upon by Fraser of Foyers, and Fraser of Culduthill, with their retainers; and to prevent the Macdonalds from reaching the other side of Lochness, he himself crossed over at Bonat, and with two hundred picked men marched according to agreement for Inverness, by Kinmaylea. Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's and Knockandow's men, captain Grant with three hundred Grants, and all the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise, were at the same time approaching the northern capital in order to rescue it from the hands of the rebels. For this end, it was proposed that the gentlemen of Moray, in conjunction with lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon it from the south, while the earl of Sutherland, lord Rae, the Munroes, and the Rosses, should attack it on the north. These latter gentlemen, however, having some of them upwards of fifty miles to march, besides ferries to cross, it was not thought advisable to wait for them. Captain Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, was therefore ordered to enter the town, while those that were already come up proceeded to invest it in the best manner they could. Lord Lovat, with his detachment was stationed on the west end of the bridge, captain Grant on the south side, to enter by Castle Street, and the Moray lieutenants, Kilravock, Letham, Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunphail, &c. were to attack the east part. The attack was led on with great spirit by captain Arthur Rose, who was unfortunately killed pressing on in the front of his men; and Sir John Mackenzie, the rebel governor, seeing himself about to be overpowered, abandoned the place, escaping with his men across the Frith in a number of



boats, which but a few days before he had intended to destroy, in order to cut off all communication by the ferry. This was upon Saturday the 12th of November, the day before the battle of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston. Thus the rebels were completely broken in the north, and it was a triumph obtained with very little loss. Much of the credit of the achievement was given to Lovat, much more indeed than was his due; but he was in want of something to elevate his character, and his friends were willing to give him all advantages. The immediate consequence of the honour he acquired on this day was the desertion of three hundred Frasers, who, under Fraserdale, were in Marr's camp at Perth; but now denying his authority to lead them, put themselves under the charge of lord Lovat at Inverness, where they remained till the rebellion was finally put down by the earl of Argyle and general Cadogan. But there was another consequence not very remote and of far greater importance: it secured him at once in the estate and all the honours of Lovat, which it had been the great object of his whole life to compass, but which, without some such strange event, joined to the false step of his rival in joining the rebel standard, was most certainly for ever beyond his reach. Prestonhall had married the heiress of Lovat, in whose person, by a decree of the court of session, so far back as the year 1702, rested the honours and dignity of Lovat. He had assumed in consequence the name of Fraser and the title of Fraserdale, and had a numerous offspring to inherit as heirs of marriage the estate which he had so long possessed, and had he maintained his loyalty, nothing but a revolution, with singular folly on his own part, could have dispossessed him of the property. Most fortunately for Lovat, when he arrived in the north, Fraserdale was with the earl of Marr at Perth, and there was nothing to prevent him from executing his purpose, of taking immediate possession of his estates, which he did before proceeding to act vigorously in behalf of the government, every member of which knew that such was the reward he expected. The fortunate issue of this his first action too called forth all the natural arrogance and presumption of his character. We find him in the ensuing March, only four short months after, writing to Duncan Forbes in the following style. "My dear general, I send you the enclosed letter from the name of Macleod, which I hope you will make good use of, for it's most certain I kept the Macleods at home, which was considerable service done the government." How had he kept the Macleods at home, when the rebellion was at its height before it was so much as known if ever he would be allowed to enter it? But he goes on to speak of his own achievements still more boastingly, and of the recalling of Argyle, which he says, has made him sick. "I hope my dear general you will take a start to London to serve his grace and do something for your poor old corporal, (meaning himself;) and if you suffer Glengarry, Fraserdale, or the Chisholm to be pardoned, I will never carry a musket any more under your command, though I should be obliged to go to Afric. However, you know how obedient I am to my general's orders; you forgot to give the order signed by you and the other deputies to meddle with Fraserdale's estate for the king's service. I entreat you send it me, for — is afraid to meddle without authority." How his lordship wished Fraserdale to find no mercy is obvious from what is above stated; but why should Glengarry and the Chisholm find none for the very same reason? Their estate lay contiguous to those of Fraserdale; and if they could be all escheated to the king, why might not Lovat for his own extraordinary services have got all the three as well as one? Fraserdale was escheated and Lovat had only to wait till the month of August, when a grant passed his majesty's privy seal of Scotland "for the many brave and loyal services done and performed to his majesty by Simon lord Lovat, parti-

cularly for the zeal and activity he showed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion in the north of Scotland, and for his known affection to his majesty's person and government, giving, granting, and disposing the escheat of all goods, gear, debts and sums of money, jewels, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, utensils and domestills, horse, milt, sheep, corns, cattle, bonds, obligations, contracts, decreets, sentences, compromittis, and all other geeds and gear escheatable, which belonged to Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, together with the said Alexander Mackenzie his life-rent escheat of all lands, heritages, townements, annual rents, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, as also five hundred pounds of sterling money, fallen in the king's hands by the said sentence, &c.

This was certainly an abundant reward, though Lovat had been a much better man, and his services more ample than they really were. It was nothing more, however, than he expected, and it excited no gratitude, nor did it yield any thing like content. Fraserdale's plate he had attempted to secure, but it fell into the hands of general Wightman; who, it was at the time remarked, had a happy knack of keeping what he got. However, he engaged to return it, Lovat paying him the one half in money, the whole being only valued at £150, sterling. In the month of April, he was, on his own request allowed to come to London, to look after all those great affairs that were then going on; and his mode of writing about them gives a curious view of a worldly man's morality:—"I want," he says to his friend Duncan Farber, "but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by the tailie my lord provost has, or by buying off some creditors; in short, you must make a man of it one way or other." He was also at this time on the eve of his marriage with Margaret Grant, daughter of Lodovick Grant, of Grant; and his moral feeling on this subject is equally interesting to that which regarded the estate of Lovat:—"I spake to the duke, and my lord Ilay, about my marriage, and told them, that one of my greatest motives to the design, was to secure the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and Argyle is to speak of it, and propose it to the king. But Ilay desired me to write to you, to know if there would be any fear of a pursuit of adherence from the other person, (the dowager of Lovat) which is a chimerical business, and tender fear for me in my dear Ilay. But when I told him that the lady denied before the justice court, that I had any thing to do with her, and that the pretended marriage had been declared null, which Ilay says should be done by the commissaries only; yet when I told him, that the minister and witnesses were all dead, who had been at the pretended marriage, he was satisfied they could make nothing of it, though they would endeavour it. However, I entreat you, write to me or Mr Stewart a line on this head, to satisfy my lord Ilay's scruple."—This puts an end to all doubt respecting the rape charged upon his lordship, of which he had often before, and did often again declare, that he was as innocent as the child unborn. All was now, however, forgiven; the duke of Argyle wrote in his favour to the Grants, recommending the match, and in the course of the next year he obtained the young lady for his bride.

Lovat might now have been, if worldly success could make any man so, a very happy man. He had been, for many years, an exile and a prisoner, proscribed at home and abroad, and alike odious to both parties in the state, and both claimants of the crown. He had ventured home at the hazard of his life, had obtained the grace of the reigning prince, the countenance of all his friends, possession of the inheritance of his fathers, two honourable commissions among his countrymen, a young and beautiful wife, and a handsome pension; yet he was the same as before, querulous and discontented.

In the beginning of the year 1717, we find him resuming the subject of the grant, and he requests Duncan Forbes to employ Sir Walter Fringle, and any one else he pleases, and consult together of some legal way for his keeping possession of his estate; "for," says he, "I must either keep violent possession, which will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon the kingdom and a young lady whom my friends have engaged me to marry. So, my dear general, I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the king's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift." And all this was because a Mr Murray or a lord Murray had made a motion in the house of commons, for a redeeming clause to be added in favour of Fraserdale's lady, which occasioned a few hours' debate, and was improved for making remarks on lord Lovat's character and conduct, but at last came to nothing. Perhaps he was also a little disturbed by the movements of the Spanish court in favour of James, which were still more contemptible than any party motion that ever was made in the house of commons.

For a number of years after this, Lovat was fully occupied with the legal campaigns which he carried on under the direction of Duncan Forbes, for the final settlement of the Lovat estate, during all which time the affairs of the pretender gave him no trouble; nay, they seem to have been totally forgotten. After the lapse of a number of years, however, when he had got every thing secured in his own way, we then find him again treating with the pretender for a generalship and a dukedom, and all his old uneasinesses returning upon him. Having no more to expect from his "dear general" the lord president, he ceased to correspond with him; and on the breaking up of the black watch, one of the companies of which had belonged to him, he withdrew his affections entirely from the existing government, and became ready once more to act for the exiled family of Stuart.

The nation was now involved in war; and the friends of the pretender, stirred up by the emissaries of the court of France, which protected him for no other purpose but to make him a tool on such occasions—began to bestir themselves. Lovat, whose political views were very limited, never doubted but that France had at all times the power to restore the pretender, if she had but the will, and now that her promises were so magnificent, he fell at once into the snare, and was the first to sign, in the year 1740, that association which brought entire ruin upon the cause, and nearly all that had connected themselves with it. Still he acted upon the old principle: he stipulated that he was to have a patent creating him a duke, and a commission constituting him lieutenant of all the Highlands, and of course elevating him above even the great Argyle.

Though Lovat had now committed himself, and was fairly in the way of "having all his old troubles returned upon him," common sense, as in most cases, did not forsake him all once. He was employed in making preparations for the new scenes of grandeur that to his heated fancy lay before him, but he did not run the hazard of disappointment by any ridiculous parade, or any weak attempts prematurely to realize them. When prince Charles landed at Bora-dale, accompanied, not, as had been agreed upon with the association, at the head of which Lovat had unfortunately placed his name, by thirteen thousand men with all necessary equipments, but with seven persons and a few domestics; his friends were perfectly astonished, and none of them more so than Lovat. Accordingly, when he received Lochiel's letter stating that Charles was come, and that he had brought the papers stipulated upon, viz. the patent for the dukedom, and the general's commission, Lovat returned a cold and general answer, that he might rely upon what he had promised. Lochiel, however, being

led to take part in the enterprise, drew in some of his neighbours, and when the gathering had begun, who could tell where it would end? It might be at last successful, and all who had been backward at the outset might expect no mercy in the end. Still Lovat was cautious. He only sent one of his distant relations, "mad Tom of Gortuleg," to meet Charles at Invergarry, and to advise him to come by Stratherrick to Inverness, and by the time he reached the latter place, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would have time to come up; besides, he might expect to be there joined by the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes. These were all engaged to come forward, as well as Lovat, who was now, from a number of circumstances, doubtful of their constancy, and, while he preserved the character of a leader, wished to see them all committed before he began to play his part. All his *finesse*, however, was of no avail. Charles took other advice. Sir Alexander Macdonald, and his powerful neighbour, Macleod, stood entirely aloof; and to crown all, his "dear general," the lord president, to whom he owed all that he possessed in the world, and to whose acute powers of perception he was no stranger, became his next door neighbour, with the almost avowed purpose of watching his every action. All these circumstances reduced him to the necessity of acting with the utmost caution, and at the same time subjected him to the most tormenting anxiety. His preparations for joining the pretender he dared not entirely suspend, lest some inferior neighbour might rise to that pre-eminent place in the prince's favour, that, in case he were successful, it was the dearest wish of his soul to occupy, and he knew not how to proceed, lest he might stand fairly committed, and be compelled to abide by the consequences. He did, however, what he could: he compelled his son to leave his studies with a view to make him the leader of his clan, and he employed, in an underhand way, his dependents to bring all matters connected with the expedition into a state of forwardness, while he himself wrote letters to the lord president, filled with lamentations for his unhappy country, and his more unhappy situation, as having to do with such mad people, and such an untoward and ungrateful son. After the brilliant affair at Gladsmuir, however, when he saw "that as sure as God was in the heavens, the mad young man would prevail," he took a little more courage, and sent to congratulate him on the victory, and to say, that being an old man, he could not come himself with five thousand men, as he had originally intended, but that he would send his son, which he hoped would be regarded the same as if he had come himself. As the course of events seemed to favour or frown upon the attempt, his lordship's conduct continued to be more open, or more concealed, till lord Loudon found it to be his duty to take him into custody. Still, as he appeared undecided, and but few of his men had gone south, and it was hoped he might still countermand them, his confinement was only nominal. In an evil hour he made his escape from lord Loudon, and, when it was utterly useless, threw the whole weight of his influence into the rebellion. The master of Lovat had a share in the affair of Falkirk, but was only coming up with his reinforcements to join the army of Charles, when he met it, totally routed, a few miles from the fatal field of Culloden. On the evening of that fatal day, Lovat was petrified with the first and the last sight he ever had of Charles. This was at Gortuleg, where the unfortunate prince arrived about sunset, a miserable fugitive, accompanied by his Irish counsellors, Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and his secretary John Hay. Lovat, on being told of his approach in this forlorn condition, poured forth against him the bitterest execrations, as having brought utter ruin on the house of Lovat, and on the entry of his unexpected visitant, he is said to have run about the house in a state of distraction, calling upon his domestics to chop off his aged head. Charles,

however, who possessed the art of flattery in great perfection, soothed him by the promise of another and better day with the elector, observing at the same time, that he had already had two, while the elector had but one. That one, however, unluckily for him and Lovat, was better than all the days either of them had seen, or were ever again to see. But the joke satisfied the old man; supper was hastily prepared, as hastily eaten, and at ten o'clock Charles changed his dress, and bade his entertainer an everlasting farewell.

Lovat had now abundance of leisure to reflect upon his folly in rejecting the sound advice of his friend the lord president; but as he could have little hope of being again pardoned, he studied to prolong his liberty and life in the best manner he could, first by proposing a mountain campaign, which, was found impracticable, and then by betaking himself to the fastnesses of his country, with which he was well acquainted. From one of these retreats he had the misery of seeing his house of Castledownie laid in ashes, and his estates every where plundered, the cattle driven off, the sheilings set on fire, and the miserable inmates driven to the mountains. He had also the misfortune to see it given over by commission from the duke of Cumberland to James Fraser of Castle Cullen for the behoof of the government, which, considering what it had cost him, and the value he set upon it, must have been worse than many deaths. As he had been so long a conspicuous character, and one of the most active movers of this rebellion, the search after him was continued with the utmost patience and perseverance, and he was at last found upon an island in Loch Morar, where he was living comfortably with Macdonald of Morar, the proprietor of the island, without any suspicion of being found out, having carried all the boats upon the loch into the island, and being at a considerable distance from the sea. Information, however, having been obtained, captain Ferguson, of his majesty's ship Furnace, sailed round till directly opposite the island, when the men of war boats were carried over land and launched into the loch. Most of those that were upon the island fled by their boats and escaped; but Lovat being totally lame, was unable to escape in this manner. He was, however, carried upon his bed into the woods, and was not found till after a search of three days. Being in no condition to make any resistance, he surrendered himself at once, delivered up his arms and his strong box, was carried aboard captain Ferguson's ship, and brought round to Fort William, where he wrote a letter to the duke of Cumberland, boasting of the extraordinary services he had performed for his family, of the great kindnesses he had then met with, and of the vast benefits he was still capable of bestowing, should he be made a participant of the royal mercy. Of this letter the duke took no notice, but he treated him with much kindness. A litter having been provided for him, he was brought to Fort Augustus on the 15th of June, 1746. On the fifteenth of July he was sent to Stirling castle, where he remained some days. From Stirling he was sent to Edinburgh, and thence by Berwick to London, the journey being divided into twenty stages, one only of which he was required to travel in a day. In this easy way he reached Barnet on the 14th of August, and on the 15th, the Friday before the execution of the lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, he arrived in London. On his way to the Tower, he passed the scaffold that had been erected for the execution of those noblemen, which he looked at with some emotion, exclaiming "Ah! is it come to this!" When brought to the Tower, he was received by general Williamson and conducted to the apartment prepared for him, where, as his trial did not come on till the beginning of next year, he had abundance of leisure to contemplate the ruin he had brought upon himself and his house by indulging a most insatiable avarice and a ridiculous ambition. He, however, took possession of his dreary habitation

with a degree of fortitude and an equanimity of mind worthy of a better man and a better cause.

On the 11th of December he was impeached of high treason by the house of commons, a committee of which was appointed to draw up the articles and prepare evidence. On the 11th, he was brought to the bar of the house of lords and the articles read to him. On this occasion his lordship made a long speech, in which he expressed the highest esteem for his majesty and all the royal family, enumerating at great length the many services he had performed for them during the rebellion in 1715, and singular favours bestowed upon him in return by the late king and his ministers. He then enlarged with great eloquence upon his age and infirmities, particularly his deafness, in consequence of which he said he had not heard one word of the charges preferred against him. They were of course read over to him again, when he presented a petition, praying that he might have a copy of them, and counsel and solicitors might be assigned him. He also acquainted their lordships that his estate had been taken forcible possession of, in consequence of which he had nothing either to support him or to bear the expenses of his trial. Their lordships gave orders that he should be allowed the income of the estate for his subsistence. He also petitioned for his strong box; but this was refused. On this day his lordship displayed great ability and excited considerable sympathy. On the 13th of January, 1747, his lordship was again placed at the bar and gave in an answer to the articles of impeachment, every one of which he denied. After making a very long speech, his trial was fixed for February the 23d. He was this day carried back to the Tower amid the hissings and execrations of a vast mob that attended him. In consequence of a petition from his lordship, his trial was put off till the 5th, and on a second petition till the 9th of March, on which day [Monday] it commenced, and was continued till Thursday the 19th, when it was concluded, his lordship having been found guilty by an unanimous vote of his peers, by the lord chancellor pronouncing upon him the awful sentence of the law.

To give any particular account of this trial would be to give a history of the rebellion. Suffice it to say that on Wednesday, the sixth day occupied by his trial, his lordship read his defences, which were drawn up with all that sarcastic shrewdness for which he was remarkable, and displayed his talents to very great advantage. After being sentenced, the old man made a short speech, begging their lordships to recommend him to his majesty's mercy. Turning to the commons at the same time, he said, that he hoped the worthy managers, as they were stout, would be merciful. Going from the bar, he added, "My lords and gentlemen, God Almighty bless you all. I wish you an everlasting farewell, for we shall never all meet again in one place."

Though he was sentenced on the 19th of March, there were no orders issued respecting his execution till the 3d of April, when it was fixed for the 9th of that month. He had been in the meantime to all appearance perfectly at his ease, and indifferent alike to life or death. Being importuned to petition his majesty for a pardon, he replied he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking. He presented, however, a petition for the life of his son, who was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and who had been drawn into the rebellion solely by his counsels. The notification of his death he received with perfect composure, drank a glass of wine to the health of the messenger who brought it, and entertained him for a considerable time with a most cheerful conversation, assuring him that he would not change situations with any prince in Europe. Next day he talked freely of his own affairs, and took praise to himself for having been concerned in all the schemes that had been

formed in behalf of the Stuarts since he was fifteen years of age, and boasted that he never betrayed a private man nor a public cause in his life. He added, perhaps with more truth, that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand, nor ever struck a man except one young nobleman [meaning, we suppose, lord Fortrose in a public meeting at Inverness] whom he caned for his impertinence and impiety. On the Sabbath he talked of his family, and showed to his attendants a letter he had written to his son in a style affectionate and pious, breathing the resignation of a martyr. Being asked this day some question about his religion, he answered that he was a Roman catholic, and would die in that faith. Wednesday, the day before his execution, he awoke early and prayed for a considerable time with great ferrency, but was very merry during the day, talking generally of public affairs, particularly of the bill that was in its progress through parliament for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which he highly reprobated. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed with great fervour. At five he rose, called as usual for a glass of wine and water, and being placed in his chair, sat and read till seven, when he called for another such refreshment. The barber shortly after brought him his wig, which he found fault with for not being powdered so deeply as usual, saying that he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet would put it on for the occasion. He then ordered a purse to put money in for the executioner, which when brought, was not to his taste, "yet he thought no man could dislike it with ten guineas in it." At nine he called for a plate of minced veal, of which he ate heartily, and afterwards in wine and water drank the healths of several of his friends. In the meantime the crowd was collecting on Tower hill, where, about ten o'clock, the fall of a scaffold converted many idle spectators into real mourners, upwards of twenty persons being killed and a vast number maimed. Lovat, it is said, made the remark that "the more mischief the better sport." About eleven the sheriff came to demand the body, and he was conducted to a house near the scaffold, where he delivered to his lordship a paper saying he might give the word of command when he pleased and he would obey. He then said a short prayer, desired that his clothes might be given to his friends along with his body, took a little brandy and bitters, and was conducted to the scaffold, in going up to which he looked round him and exclaimed, "God save us, why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head, that can't get up three steps without two men to support it?" Observing one of his friends very much dejected, his lordship clapped him on the shoulder, saying "Cheer up, man, I am not afraid: why should you?" On the scaffold, the first object of his attention was the executioner, to whom he gave his purse with ten guineas, bidding him do his work well. He then felt the edge of the axe, saying he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, on which was written "Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat decollat. April. 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," and sitting down in a chair set for him, repeated from Horace

*" Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"*

and from Ovid,

*" Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi  
Vix ea nostra vocæ."*

He then said a short prayer, called for his solicitor, William Fraser, to whom he gave his gold headed cane and his hat, and requested him to see that the executioner did not touch his clothes. Being undressed he kneeled to the block, gave the signal in half a minute, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Thus died Simon lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters re-

corded in Scottish history. He was possessed of good natural talents, which, considering the age in which he lived, and the troubled life he led, had been considerably cultivated, but he was totally destitute of that which alone constitutes true dignity of character, moral worth. His private character, as may well be conceived, from what we have detailed of his public one, was vicious, his appetites coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous. He had, however, seen much of the world, possessed great address, and when he had a purpose to serve, could make himself peculiarly agreeable. Few men have ever been so very fortunate, and as few have recklessly thrown their good fortune from them. "A protracted course of wickedness," one writer has remarked "seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness; he digged a pit into which he himself fell, spread a snare with his own hands in which he was caught, and in the just judgment of God, his hoary hairs came to the grave with blood."

Besides his early affair with the dowager of Lovat his lordship was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter to the laird of Grant, and secondly to Primrose, daughter to John Campbell of Mamore. This latter marriage was singularly unfortunate, and after the most unheard of barbarities exercised upon the lady, his lordship was under the necessity of granting her a separate maintenance. By his first wife he had three children, two sons and one daughter, and by the second one son, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Lovat.

FULTON, GEORGE, the author of an improved system of education, was born, February 3, 1752. He served an apprenticeship to a printer in Glasgow, and afterwards worked as journeyman with Mr Willison of Edinburgh. He also practised his profession for a time at Dumfries. In early life he married the daughter of Mr Tod, a teacher in Edinburgh. His first appearance as a teacher was in a charity school in Niddry's Wynd, which he taught for twenty pounds a-year. There an ingenious and original mind led him to attempt some improvements in what had long been a fixed, and, we may add, sluggish art. Adopting his ideas partly from the system of Mr Sheridan, and partly from his late profession, he initiated his pupils with great care in a knowledge of the powers of the letters, using moveable characters pasted on pieces of wood, (which were kept in cases similar to those of a compositor in a printing house,) the result of which was, a surprising proficiency generally manifested by his scholars, both in the art of spelling, and in that of pronouncing and reading the English language.

Having thus given full proof of his qualifications as an instructor of youth, Mr Fulton was appointed by the town council one of the four teachers of English under the patronage of the city corporation, in which situation he continued till about the year 1790, when a dispute with the chief magistrate induced him to resign it, and set up on his own account. He then removed from Jackson's Close in the Old Town, to more fashionable apartments in Hanover Street, where he prospered exceedingly for more than twenty years, being more especially patronised by Thomas Tod, Esq., and the late Mr Ramsay of Barn-ton. In teaching grammar and elocution, and in conveying to his pupils correct notions of the analogies of our language, Mr Fulton was quite unrivalled in his day. Many teachers from other quarters became his pupils, and were successful in propagating his system; and he had the honour to teach many of the most distinguished speakers of the day, both in the pulpit and at the bar. During the long course of his professional life, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve his method, and simplify his notation; and the result of his studies was embodied in a Pronouncing Dictionary, which was introduced into almost all the schools of the kingdom.

Mr Fulton was an eminent instance of the union of talent with frugal and



virtuous habits. Having realized a considerable fortune by teaching, he resigned his school to his nephew, Mr Andrew Knight, and for the last twenty years of his life, enjoyed *otium cum dignitate*, at a pleasant villa called Summerfield (near Newhaven), which he purchased in 1806. In the year 1820, Mr Fulton married, for the second wife, Miss Eliza Stalker, but had no children by either connection. He died, September 1, 1831, in the 80th year of his age.

## G

GALL, RICHARD, a poet of considerable merit, was the son of a notary in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he was born in December, 1776. He received a limited education at Haddington, and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder. A decided repugnance to this mechanical art induced him soon after to abandon it, and enter the business of a printer, which was only a degree more suitable to his inclinations, from its connection with literature, to which he was already much attached. In the course of an apprenticeship to Mr David Ramsay, the liberal and enlightened printer of the Edinburgh Evening Courant, he made great advances in knowledge, and began at length to attempt the composition of poetry in the manner of Burns. At the expiry of his time, he had resolved to abandon even this more agreeable profession, as affording him too slight opportunities of cultivating his mind, when fortunately he obtained the appointment of travelling clerk to Mr Ramsay, an employment which promised him much of that leisure for literary recreation, of which he was so desirous. He continued to act in this capacity till his death by abscess in his breast, May 10, 1801, when he wanted still some months to complete his twenty-fifth year.

In the course of his brief career, Mr Gall had secured, by his genius and modest manners, the friendship of various literary characters of considerable eminence, in particular Mr Alexander Murray, afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages, Mr Thomas Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*, and Mr Hector Macneill, author of many admired poems in the Scottish dialect. His poetical remains were published in 1819, in one small volume, and include some pieces which have retained their place in the body of our popular poetry, though in general they are characterised by a tameness of thought and language, which will for ever prevent their author from ranking in nearly the same form with Fergusson, Ramsay, and Burns.

GARDEN, FRANCIS, a distinguished judge under the designation of lord Gardenstone, was born at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, 1721. He was the second son of Alexander Garden of Troup, in Banffshire, and of Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant, lord Cullen, one of the judges of the court of session. He followed the usual course of education at the grammar school and university, and being destined for the bar, entered as a member of the faculty of advocates on the 14th of July, 1744. During the earlier stages of his professional career, Mr Garden was distinguished for his conviviality, at a period when, especially in Scotland, it must be admitted that real proficiency was requisite to procure fame in that qualification. A strong hale body and an easy benevolent mind gave him a particular taste for social hilarity; had he lived at a different age, he might have turned these qualities into a different channel, but they suited with the period, and he accordingly became the prince of jolly livers. Nor, when he reached that period of life when certain bodily feelings generally

make ancient bacchanals look back with bitterness on their youthful frolics, did his ever contented mind lose its equanimity. If he was no longer able to indulge himself, he bore the indulgences of others with charity. His mind was of the same overflowing description, and continued, after the body was disabled, to perform its part in the social circle. Many characteristic anecdotes have been preserved of his convivial propensities during his early practice at the bar. On one occasion, during the time when prince Charles Edward was in possession of Edinburgh, he and a Mr Cunningham (afterwards general) are said to have so far preferred wine and oysters, to watching and warding, that, when sent as a patrol by Sir John Cope, to watch the coast towards Musselburgh, instead of proving a protection to the army, they were themselves taken prisoners, just when the feast was at its highest, by a single individual, who happened to be prowling in the neighbourhood. It must, however, be allowed, that at that period, there were not many inducements to exertion held out to Scotsmen of the higher rank. There were few men eminent for their genius, or even for the more passive acquirements of classical learning, which distinguished the neighbouring country. The bar was the only profession which, from its respectability and emoluments, offered itself as a resource to the younger sons of the landed proprietors, then sufficiently poor; and while the learning and information at that time required by its members in their professional capacity were not great, the jealousy of England, just after the Union, allowed but to one family in Scotland, the rational prospect that time and labour might be well spent in preparing for the duties of a statesman. The state of the country and its political influence were singularly discouraging to the upper classes, and from many naturally active spirits being left unemployed, they turned to indolence or unprofitable amusements those talents which might have rendered them the best ornaments of their country. The nation had then, indeed, begun by degrees to shake off its lethargy, and by the time the subject of this memoir had advanced a little in life, he became one of the most admired and beloved social members of a circle of illustrious philosophers and historians, whose names are dear to the memory of their countrymen, as those who first roused their slumbering energies.

On the 14th of July, 1744, Mr Garden was made sheriff of Kincardineshire, and he soon after shewed the soundness of his perception and the liberality of his mind, by stretching forth his hand to assist the modest talent and elegant taste of the author of the *Minstrel*. To those who may, from its lingering remnants at the present time, have formed any idea of the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it will operate as no small evidence of the discernment and kindness of the judge, that he began his acquaintance with the poet and philosopher, when that individual was only a cottar boy sitting in a field writing with a pencil. In August, 1759, Mr Garden was chosen one of the legal assessors of the town of Edinburgh; and as a higher step in professional advancement, in April, 1761, accepted office in the latter days of Mr Pitt's administration, as joint solicitor-general of Scotland, along with Mr James Montgomery, afterwards lord chief baron. What were his professional attainments as a lawyer, it is at this distance of time difficult to determine, as he has left behind him no professional work, the only index which can lead to a knowledge of his mere technical attainments as a barrister. As a pleader, however, we know he was highly estimated—as his connexion with a renowned lawsuit, which spread its fame over all Europe, and created in Scotland a ferment of disputation inferior only to the heat of religious controversy, has well shown. The appearance made by Mr Garden in the Douglas cause rendered his name better known, and his talents more ap-

preciated, than generally falls to the lot of a mere forensic pleader. He was early connected with the proceedings of this great case, in the Tournelle process in France, where he appeared as senior to his future friend and literary associate, the classical Burnet of Monboddo, and is generally reported to have left behind him a high opinion of his learning, and the powers of his eloquence, even when clothed in a foreign language. He became connected with the case on its transference to England, but amidst its multifarious changes, he was raised to the bench as successor to lord Woodhall on the 3rd of July, 1764, in time to act as a judge on the case, then very different in its aspect and material from what it was when he performed the part of a counsel.

In 1763, Mr Garden had purchased the estate of Johnston, in Kincardineshire, and in 1765, he commenced those improvements on his estate, which, if not among the most brilliant acts of his life, are perhaps among those which deserve to be longest and best remembered. At the time when the estate of Johnston was purchased, the village of Lawrencekirk, if a village it could then be called, contained but fifty-four inhabitants, living there, not because it was a centre of commercial or industrial circulation, but because chance had brought a few houses to be built in each other's vicinity. Lord Gardenstone caused a new line of street to be planned out on his own property; he gave extremely moderate leases of small farms, and ground for building upon, to the last, for the period of 100 years; he established a linen manufactory, built an inn, and with a singular attention to the minute comforts and happiness of his rising flock, seldom equalled by extensive projectors, he founded a library for the use of the villagers. To assist the progress of society in reducing men dispersed over the country into the compact limits of a town, is an easy, and generally a profitable process, but to found towns or villages where there is no previous spirit of influx, is working to a certain degree against nature, and can only be accomplished by labour and expense. Although the benevolent mind of lord Gardenstone, caused a mutual understanding and kindness betwixt himself and his tenants, which mere commercial speculators fail in producing, yet many of his best formed plans for the prosperity of the village proved unavailing, and he was frequently subject to disappointment and needless expense. He seems, however, to have felt the pleasure of being kind without profiting himself. At much expense he supported a printfield and manufacture of stockings, and purchased a royal charter erecting Lawrencekirk into a burgh of barony, with a regular magistracy. He had the satisfaction before his death to find the population increase to five hundred souls, and in a letter to the inhabitants which he published late in life, he says,—“ I have tried in some measure a variety of the pleasures which mankind pursue; but never relished any thing so much as the pleasure arising from the progress of my village.”

In 1776, lord Gardenstone, in addition to his seat on the civil bench, was appointed to fill the office of a lord commissioner of justiciary, or ordinary judge in the criminal court, as successor to lord Pitfour. Nine years afterwards, having succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, to the extensive estate of Troup, he relieved himself for ever from some of his laborious judicial duties, and for a time from them all, and resolved to attempt to recruit his failing constitution, by making a pleasure tour through the continent. Accordingly, in 1786, he passed into France by Dover, visiting Paris and Lyons, remaining during part of the winter at Marseilles. In the ensuing spring he passed to Geneva, where he saw the ruined remnant of Voltaire's village at Ferney, from which he was able to draw a comparison much in favour of his own, where the people enjoyed permanent political rights, which would render them independent of any future superior who might not be disposed to imitate

the beneficence of the original patron. Lord Gardenstone spent the remainder of his allotted time in traversing the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; making, in his progress, a collection of natural curiosities, and committing to writing a number of cursory remarks on the men and manners he encountered, and the works of art he had seen on his tour or met any where else, part of which were submitted to the world in two duodecimo volumes, denominated "Travelling Memorandums made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the year 1793," and a remaining volume was published after his death. About the same time he published "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," a collection of petty productions which had given him amusement, either in composing or hearing, during his earlier days. Perhaps without affectation, the gravity of the judge might have restrained the man from giving to the world a publication which could not have raised the better part of his reputation. Lord Gardenstone was either not a poet born, or his imagination had not stood the ordeal of a profession which deals in fact and reason. His serious verses have all the stiffness of the French school, without either the loftiness of Pope, or the fire of Dryden. The author had to be sure an ever teeming mind, which never emitted any thing common or contemptible, but it is to be feared, that the merits his verses possess, are those of rhetoric rather than of poetry; for, though constructed in the same workshop which formed words and ideas that thrilled through the minds of a subdued audience, they are certainly very flat and inelegant as poetical productions. The satirical pieces have a singular pungence and acuteness, and are fine specimens of the early natural powers of the author; but they are rather destitute of the tact acquired by professed satirists. A biographer, who seems to have been intimate with his lordship,<sup>1</sup> describes him as having expressed great contempt for the affectation of those who expressed disgust at the indelicacies of Horace or Swift, and it must certainly be allowed, that, in his humorous fragments, he has not departed from the spirit of his precepts, or shown any respect for the feelings of these weaker brethren. Lord Gardenstone spent the latter days of his life, as he had done the earlier, in an unrestricted benevolence, and a social intercourse with the world, indulging in the same principles, which years had softened in their activity, but had not diminished. He was still an ornament and a useful assistant to the circle of great men which raised the respectability of his country. He continued to use his then ample fortune, and his practised acuteness, in giving encouragement to letters, and in useful public projects, the last of which appears to have been the erection of a building over the mineral spring of St Bernard's, in the romantic vale of the water of Leith, a convenience which seems to have been much more highly appreciated formerly than now, and is always mentioned as one of the chief incidents of the judge's life. He died at Morningside, near Edinburgh, on the 22nd of July, 1793. The village which had afforded him so much benevolent pleasure exhibited, for a considerable period after his death, the outward signs of grief, and, what seldom happens in the fluctuations of the world, the philanthropist was mourned by those who had experienced his public munificence, as a private friend.

In person, lord Gardenstone is described as having been a commanding man, with a high forehead, features intellectually marked, and a serious penetrating eye. He was generally a successful speaker, and differed from many orators in being always pleasing. The effect appears to have been produced more by a deep-toned melodious voice, a majestic ease, and carelessness of manner, which

<sup>1</sup> Life-introductory to vol. 3d of Travelling Memorandums, the only life of Gardenstone hitherto published—at least the one which, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attached to his name in biographical dictionaries.

made him appear unburdened with difficulties, and a flow of language which, whether treating of familiar or of serious subjects, was always copious—than by the studied art of forensic oratory. His political principles were always on the side of the people, and so far as may be gathered from his remarks, he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might be consonant with the order of society to allow, or which might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government. From all that can be gathered from his life and character, it is to be regretted that Lord Gardenstone, like many other eminent persons of his profession in Scotland, should have left behind him no permanent work to save his memory from oblivion. His “Travelling Memorandums” display the powers of a strongly thinking mind, carelessly strewn about on unworthy objects; the ideas and information are given with taste and true feeling; but they are so destitute of organization or settled purpose, that they can give little pleasure to a thinking mind, searching for digested and useful information, and are only fit for those desultory readers, who cannot, or, like the author himself, will not devote their minds to any particular end. The author’s criticisms, scattered here and there through his memorandums, his letters to his friends in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and numberless pencil marks on the margins of his books, are always just and searching, and strikingly untrammelled by the prejudices of the day, a quality well exhibited in his praises of Shakspeare, then by no means fashionable, and of the satellites of the great bard, Shirley, Marlow, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, who were almost forgotten.

GARDINER, JAMES, a distinguished military officer, and christian hero, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowshire, January 11, 1688. Of this remarkable person we shall abridge the pleasing and popular memoir, written by Dr Doddridge, adding such additional particulars as have fallen under our observation in other sources of intelligence.

Colonel Gardiner was the son of captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-head, by Mrs Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of king William and queen Anne, and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, shortly after the battle of Hochstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by colonel Hodge, his brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment, at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692.

Mrs Gardiner, the colonel’s mother, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, but also her eldest son, Mr Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695.

She took care to instruct her second son, the subject of this memoir, at a very early period of his life in the principles of Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school of Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress in the languages. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, of whose good instructions and exhortations he often spoke with pleasure, have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it, was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder, that thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows, that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of

which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself, a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it, might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but he was often heard to mention this rashness with that regret, which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life.

He served first as a cadet, which must have been very early; and when at fourteen years old, he bore an ensign's commission in a Scots regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when he received an ensign's commission from queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this memorable action, which was fought May 23, 1706, our young officer was of a party in a forlorn hope, commanded to dispossess the French of the church-yard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed, that Mr Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, and had the view of making his fortune, to animate the natural intrepidity of his spirit, was glad of such an opportunity of signalizing himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left side of the vertebrae. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise, began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way. This accident happened about five or six in the evening; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was the duke of Marlborough's constant method,) the young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. When he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded, that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state seemed to be. His mind, at the same time, was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, of which he had a good deal about him; and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choked; and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money, (about 19 pistoles,) and shutting his hand, and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner, that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen, in which he might lose the presence of mind which that concealment otherwise would have required.

In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, though their forces were defeated at some distance, came to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, to destroy the little remainder of life; when, in the critical moment, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some

spirituous liquor, which happened to be at hand; by which he said he found a more sensible refreshment than he could remember from any thing he had tasted either before or since. He was afterwards carried by the French to a convent in the neighbourhood, and cured by the benevolent lady-abbess in the course of a few months. His protectress called him her son, and treated him with all the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls, was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there, and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman lightly to change that form of religion which he wore, as it were, loose about him.

He served with distinction in all the other glorious actions fought by the duke of Marlborough, and rose through a course of rapid and deserved promotion. In 1706, he was made a lieutenant, and very quickly after he received a cornet's commission in the Scots Greys, then commanded by the earl of Stair. On the 31st of January, 1714-15, he was made captain-lieutenant in colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. At the taking of Preston in Lancashire, 1715, he headed a party of twelve, and, advancing to the barricades of the insurgents, set them on fire, notwithstanding a furious storm of musketry, by which eight of his men were killed. A long peace ensued after this action, and Gardiner being favourably known to the earl of Stair, was made his aid-de-camp, and accompanied his lordship on his celebrated embassy to Paris. When lord Stair made his splendid entrance into Paris, captain Gardiner was his master of the horse; and a great deal of the care of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his lordship's favour, which to the last day of his life he retained, a captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22, 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by colonel Stanhope, then earl of Harrington; and in 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But his majesty, king George I., was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign manual, entitling him to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the earl of Stair.

The remainder of his military appointments may be here summed up. On the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of lord Cadogan, with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years; and he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a colonel's commission over a new regiment of dragoons, at the head of which he was destined to fall, about two years and a half after he had received it.

Captain Gardiner lived for several years a very gay and dissolute life, inso-much as even to distinguish himself at the dissolute court of the regent Orleans. His conduct was characterized by every species of vice, and his constitution enabled him to pursue his courses with such *insouciance* of manner, that he acquired the name of "the happy rake."

Still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of good education, would break in upon his most licentious hours; and I particularly remember, says Dr Doddridge, he told me, that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself "Oh that I were that dog!" But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured, some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

The crisis, however, of this course of wickedness, arrived at last. I am now come, says his biographer, to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion, which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader, that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastical to others, but I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest.

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by Mr Thomas Watson. Guessing by the title of it, that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of any thing he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences. There is indeed a possibility, that while he was sitting in this solitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, [1739,] he judged himself to have been as broad awake during the whole time, as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed, as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words,) 'Oh, sinner! did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?' But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally strik-



ing, he did not seem very confident, though to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; which was one circumstance, that made me several times take the liberty to suggest, that he might possibly be all this while asleep; but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

It may easily be supposed, he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation, which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions, not to be conceived; and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loath and abhor himself, and to *repent as in dust and ashes*. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished, that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness: and (which I think deserves particular remark,) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require, that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered, was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him*.

The mind of major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till toward the end of October, (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted, that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, and of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could; and to continue casting himself at the foot of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those licentious pleasures which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect

upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He, therefore, exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery, would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he displayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field.

Such is the account given by an exceedingly honest, able, and pious writer of the remarkable conversion of colonel Gardiner; an account too minute and curious to be passed over by a modern biographer, whatever credence may be given to the circumstances of which it is composed. While the minds of our readers will probably find an easy explanation of the "phenomenon" in the theories which some late writers have started respecting such impressions of the senses, we shall present a remarkably interesting notice of the pious soldier, which was written twenty years before his death, and a still longer period antecedent to Doddridge's publication, and must therefore be considered as entitled to particular attention and credit. It is extracted from a journal of the historian Wodrow, [MS. Advocates' Library,] where it appears under date May 1725, as having just been taken down from the mouths of various informants:

"From him and others, I have a very pleasant account of major Gardiner, formerly master of horse to the earl of Stair, and now lately on the death of ——— Craig, made major of Stair's grey horse. He seems to be one of the most remarkable instances of free grace that has been in our times. He is one of the bravest and gallantest men in Britain, and understands military affairs exactly well. He was a lieutenant or a captain many years ago in Glasgow, where he was extremely vicious. He had a criminal correspondence with ———, <sup>1</sup> as my informer tells us he owns with sorrow. He acknow-

<sup>1</sup> The name is expressed in a secret hand used by the venerable historian.

ledges with the deepest concern there was scarce an evil but what he was addicted to it, and he observes that he on many accounts has reason to reckon himself the chief of sinners, much more than Paul, for besides the multitude of the most horrid sins, he did them not ignorantly and through unbelief, but over the belly of light and knowledge. When he was with my lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, he was riding on one of his most unruly and fiery horses, which could not bear the spur, and in the streets met the hostie and crowd with it. Whether of design or accidentally I cannot say, but his horse and he soon made a clean street, and the hostie came to the ground. The ambassador's house was attacked for the abuse of the hostie, and he was obliged to write over to court about it. The change wrought on the Major a few years ago was *gradual and imperceptible*. I think profane swearing was the first thing he refrained from, and then other vices, and still as he refrained from them, he bore testimony against them in others, in the army, at court, and every where, and reproved them in great and small with the utmost boldness. At length he is thoroughly reformed, and walks most closely in ordinances, and while with his troops in Galloway, he haunts mostly at the houses of the ministers; and has made a sensible reformation among the troops he commands, and nothing like vice is to be seen among them. His walk and conversation is most tender and christian; he rises by four in summer and winter, and nobody has access to him till eight, and some later, and these hours he spends in secret religion. He is a close and exemplary keeper of ordinances, and a constant terror to vice wherever he is, and a serious keeper of the Sabbath. We have at this time several excellent officers in the army, and who have been in it. Colonel Blackader, colonel Erskine, lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, and this gentleman. May the Lord increase them!"

"This resolute and exemplary Christian now entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life. A life any thing like his, could not be entered upon in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep, without great opposition; especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circles of cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached, as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice, which to the last day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneness; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

A remarkable instance of this happened about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return, to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other side of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was stark mad: a report at which no reader, who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised, any more than himself. He concluded, therefore that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to despatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country-house of a person of distinguished rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so, that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table; that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that major Gardiner

would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner he was awakened; which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse; but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, that after having run the widest round of sensual pleasures, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called happiness, till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me, the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, 'Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so.' On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immovable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me, that instead of losing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726; when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the right honourable lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the fourth earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father,—two sons and three daughters. From this period till the commencement of the French war, he lived either at his villa of Bankton in East Lothian, or moved about through the country with his regiment. Towards the latter end of 1742, he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent; where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. As he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. His majesty was at length pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in the neighbourhood of his own house in Scotland. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments

offered him in the army, he chose to return, and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been an action."

The latter years of his life were rendered gloomy by bad health, and for some time before his death he appeared to move constantly under a serious anticipation of that event. When the insurrection of 1745 commenced in the Highlands, his raw regiment of dragoons constituted an important part of the small military force with which Sir John Cope was required to meet the coming storm. Cope marched in August into the Highlands, leaving Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoon regiments in the low country; and when the insurgents, by a strange manœuvre, eluded the government general and descended upon the Lowlands, these inexperienced troops were all that remained to oppose their course. After an ineffectual attempt to protect Edinburgh, the two regiments fled in a panic to Dunbar, where they were rejoined by the foot under the command of Sir John Cope, and the whole army then marched towards the capital in order to meet and give battle to the clans. The worthy colonel was much depressed by the conduct of his men, and anticipated that they would not behave better in the action about to take place: he said, however, that though he could not influence the conduct of others, he had one life to sacrifice for his country's safety, and he would not spare it.

"The two hostile bodies came into view of each other on the 20th of September in the neighbourhood of his own house near Prestonpans. The Colonel drew up his regiment in the afternoon, and rode through all their ranks, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately: a desire, in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted. He was overruled in this advice, as also in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing. And when he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as plainly seemed to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe, that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul, which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then

concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the approach of the enemy, and the attack was made before sunrise; yet it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the meantime it was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic: and though their Colonel and some other gallant officers, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as they were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broad-sword, or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him to speak, "Take care of yourself:" upon which the servant retired, and fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell; where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned as soon as possible; yet not till nearly two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then over, and he found his much honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, though not capable of speech. In this condition, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon; when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow. Such was the close of a life, which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services.

His remains were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church at Tranent—where he had usually attended divine service—with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed

there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

In personal appearance, colonel Gardiner was tall, well proportioned, and strongly built, his eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet attempered with much gentleness: and there was something in his manner of address most perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart; as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth, to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour."

GED, WILLIAM, the inventor of stereotype printing, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have first attempted stereotyping in the year 1725. The invention, as may be generally known, consists in casting, by means of a stucco mould, a representation of the superficies of arranged types, which, being fitted to a block, may be used under the press exactly as types are used, and, being retained, may serve at any time to throw off an additional impression. As the metal required for this process is very little compared to that of types, stereotyping is accomplished at an expense, which, though it might come hard upon ordinary jobs, is inconsiderable in others, where it may be the means of saving a new composition of types for subsequent impressions. In the case of a book in general use, such as the Bible, and also in cases where the publication takes place in numbers, and one number is in danger of being sold to a greater extent than another, the process suggested by Ged is of vast utility.<sup>1</sup> In July, 1729, Mr Ged entered into a partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and, for the purpose of carrying his invention into practice, allowed Fenner half the profits, in consideration of his advancing the necessary funds. Afterwards, Mr John James, an architect, was taken into the scheme for the same purpose, as was likewise Mr Thomas James, a letter-founder, and Mr James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730, the association applied to the university of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common-Prayer books, by stereotype, and, in consequence, the lease was sealed to them, April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two prayer-books, so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villany of the pressmen, and the ill treatment of his partners, particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined. In 1733, this ingenious man returned with blighted prospects to Edinburgh. Afterwards, however, by the advice of his friends, he gave to the world, a specimen of his invention, in an edition of Sallust, finished, it is said, in 1736, but not published till 1744, as the following imprint on the title page testifies:—"Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber, Edinensis, non typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabellis seu laminis fuis, excudebat, MDCCLIV." James

<sup>1</sup> The editor trusts he may mention, without any appearance of obtrusiveness, that his elder brother and himself have found an advantage in stereotyping which was not formerly experienced, and which may be described as a new power developed in the art. In a periodical work published by them, the process is employed to cast more plates than one, in order that the work may be published in various parts of the empire at the same time, without the cost of a different composition of types for each place, and so as to avoid a carriage of paper, which would otherwise be enormously expensive.

Ged, his son and former partner, engaged in the insurrection of 1745, as a captain in the duke of Perth's regiment, and being taken at Carlisle, was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr Smith's interest with the duke of Newcastle, was released in 1745. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he settled, and where his brother William was already established as a printer. William Ged, the inventor of an art which has been of incalculable advantage to mankind, experienced what has been the fate of too many ingenious and useful men; he died, October 19, 1749, in very indifferent circumstances, after his utensils had been shipped at Leith for London, where he intended to renew partnership with his son James. The Misses Ged, his daughters, lived many years after in Edinburgh, where they kept a school for young ladies, and were much patronized by the Jacobite gentry.<sup>2</sup> Another member of the family, by name Dougal, was a captain in the town guard, or military police, of Edinburgh, in the days of Fergusson the poet.

GEDDES, ALEXANDER, celebrated as a poet, a critic, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, in the year 1737. His father, Alexander Geddes, rented a small farm on the Arradowl estate, and, in common with that class of people in Scotland at that time, was in very poor circumstances. His mother was of the Mitchells of Dellachy, in the neighbouring parish of Bellay, and both were of the Roman catholic persuasion. The parents being anxious to procure for their son the benefits of learning, he was, with a view to the service of the church, at a very tender age, put to learn his letters under a woman who kept a school in the village, of the name of Sellar. Here he learned to read the English Bible, which seems to have been the only book his parents possessed, and which, contrary to the general practice of people of their communion, they encouraged him "to read with reverence and attention." In perusing this book, young Geddes took a singular delight, and, by the time he was eleven years of age, had got the historical parts of it nearly by heart. At this period the laird of Arradowl having engaged a tutor of the name of Shearer, from Aberdeen, for his two sons, was looking about him for three boys of promising parts, whom he might educate gratuitously along with them, and who might afterwards be devoted to the service of the church. Young Geddes, already celebrated for his talents, and for his love of study, immediately attracted his notice, and, along with a cousin of his own, John Geddes, who afterwards became titular bishop of Dunkeld, and another boy, was taken into the house of Arradowl, where he enjoyed all the advantages peculiar to the laird's superior situation in life, and, we may reasonably suppose, though we have not seen it noticed, that his improvement was correspondent to his privilege. From the hospitable mansion of Arradowl, he was, by the influence of the laird himself, admitted into the Catholic free seminary of Sculan, a seminary intended solely for young men who were to be afterwards sent abroad to receive holy orders in some of the foreign universities. No situation was ever better chosen for the educating of monks than Sculan standing in a dismal glen, overhung with mountains on all sides, so high as to preclude the sun from being seen for many months in the year. "Pray, be so kind," said Geddes, writing from that dreary spot, to one of his fellow students, who had obtained leave to visit his friends, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the sun. Fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of

<sup>2</sup> Among the curiosities preserved in Fingask castle, Perthshire, the seat of Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart., is a page of the stereotypes of Ged's *Sallust*, which had probably been obtained from the inventor or his family by the late Sir Stewart Threipland, who was a distinguished partisan of the family of Stuart.



personal acquaintance with him." Here, to a knowledge of the vulgar English Bible, he added a knowledge of the vulgar Latin one, which appears to have been all the benefit he received by a seven years' seclusion from the sun, and from the world which he illuminated. Having attained the age of twenty-one, he was removed to the Scots college at Paris, where he completed his knowledge of the Latin language, to which he added Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch. Theology and biblical criticism were the principal objects of his attention, for he had already formed the design of making a new translation of the Bible for the use of his Catholic countrymen, to the accomplishing of which all his studies seem to have been directed from a very early period of his life. When he had completed his course in the Scots college at Paris, he was solicited to take a share of the public labours of the college, and to fix, of course, his residence in that gay metropolis. This, however, after some hesitation, he declined, and, after an absence of six years, returned to his native country in the year 1764. Having entered into orders, Geddes, on his arrival in Scotland, was, by his ecclesiastic superior, ordered to reside at Dundee, as officiating priest to the Catholics of Angus. This situation he did not long fill, being invited by the earl of Traquair to reside in his family at Traquair house, whither he repaired in the month of May, 1765.

Here Mr Geddes was situated as happily as his heart could have wished, he had plenty of time, with the use of an excellent library, and he seems to have prosecuted his favourite study with great diligence. He had been in this happy situation, however, little more than a year, when the openly displayed affection of a female inmate of the house, a relation of the earl, rendered it necessary for him, having taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, to take an abrupt departure from the Arcadian scenery of the Tweed. Leaving with the innocent author of his misfortune a beautiful little poem, entitled *The Confessional*, he again bade adieu to his native land, and in the varieties and volatilities of Paris, endeavoured to forget his pain. Even in this condition, however, he did not lose sight of his great object, as, during the time he remained in Paris, he made a number of valuable extracts from books and manuscripts which he consulted in the public libraries.

Paris never was a place much to his mind, and it was less so now than ever, when it presented him with no definite object of pursuit. He therefore returned to Scotland in the spring of the year 1769. He had by this time recovered, in some degree, possession of himself, but he dared not encounter the fascination of the beloved object, or re-engage in the domestic scenes from which he had found it necessary to fly. Turning, therefore, to the scenes of his early life, he was offered the charge of a Catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, which he accepted. The members of this little community were poor, their chapel was in ruins, and the most inveterate rancour subsisted among themselves, and between them and their Protestant neighbours. Mr Geddes, however, was not to be appalled by the prospect of difficulties, however numerous and formidable. His first object was to pull down the old chapel, and to build a new one on the spot. His own house, too, which his biographer dignifies with the name of a parsonage-house, he found necessary to repair almost from the foundation, and he added to it the luxury of an excellent garden, from which he was able, on many occasions, to supply the necessities of his people. In these proceedings, Mr Geddes was not only useful, in directing and overseeing the workmen, but as a workman himself, many of the most important operations being performed with his own hands. Having thus provided for the assembling of his congregation, his next object was to correct that extreme bigotry by which they were characterised. For this end,

he laboured to gain their affections by the most punctilious attention to every part of his pastoral duty, and by the most unbounded charity and benevolence. The ceremonies of popery he despised as heartily as any presbyterian. The Scriptures he earnestly recommended to his people, and exhorted them to think for themselves, and to allow the same privilege to others. Many of the peculiarities of popery, indeed, he denounced as most iniquitous, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of genuine catholicity. In his judgment of others, Geddes himself showed the utmost liberality; and he even ventured to appear as a worshipper in the church of a neighbouring parish on different occasions. By these means, if he did not convert to his views the papists of Auchinhalrig, which we believe he did not, he acquired a very high character to himself, and formed many valuable friendships among men of all descriptions. Than this conduct nothing could be better fitted to attain the object which the papists were by this time very generally beginning to entertain,—that of obtaining political power and influence; and in this respect, Geddes, by dereliction of principle, did more for their cause than all other men beside: yet their zeal could not be restrained, even for this most obvious purpose, and he had the mortification to find that he was provoking very generally the resentment of his clerical brethren. His diocesan bishop, Hay, threatened him with suspension if he did not behave with greater circumspection, particularly in regard to the dangerous and contaminating influence of heretical intercourse; but having no supreme court before which to bring the refractory and rebellious priest, the bishop was under the necessity of letting the controversy drop. Unfortunately the poor priest had become personally bound for considerable sums expended in building the chapel and repairing the manse, for the payment of which he had trusted to the liberality of his people. There was no appearance of his expectations being realized, and his creditors—a class of people whom he could not so easily set at defiance as the bishop,—becoming clamorous, a “charge of horn-ing,” was likely to suspend him more effectually than the order of his diocesan, when, through the friendship of the earl of Traquair, he was introduced to the notice of the duke of Norfolk, who, having learned the extent of the obligations he had come under in his pastoral capacity, claimed the privilege of discharging them as an earnest of future friendship. Geddes was thus relieved from serious embarrassments, but his income was far too scanty to supply his necessities, though they were by no means so numerous as those of many others in his situation. In order to provide for himself without burdening his congregation, he took a small farm at Enzie, in Fochabers, in the vicinity of Auchinhalrig, which he stocked by means of a loan, built a little chapel upon it, where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig, and in imagination saw himself already happy and independent. There have been men of letters, who have been, at the same time, men of business. They have been, however, but few; and Geddes was not of the number. It was in the year 1775 that he commenced his agricultural speculations, and by the year 1778, he found himself in a still deeper state of embarrassment than when he had been relieved by the duke of Norfolk. The expedient he adopted on this occasion, was one that was much more likely to have added to his embarrassments than to have relieved them. He published at London “Select Satires of Horace, translated into English verse, and for the most part adapted to the present times and manners.” This publication, contrary to all human probability, succeeded so well that it brought him a clear profit of upwards of one hundred pounds, which, with some friendly aid from other quarters, set him once more clear of pecuniary embarrassments. The remark of one of his biographers on this circumstance ought not to be suppressed:—“To be brought to the brink of ruin by farming and kirk building,

and to be saved from it by turning postaster, must be allowed to be rather out of the usual course of events."

Finding that his pen was of more service to him than his plough, Mr Geddes now seriously thought of quitting his retirement, and trying his fortune in London. He was, however, so strongly attached to his flock, that it might have been long before he put his design into execution, had not a circumstance occurred to give it new vigour. Lord Findlater had about this time married a daughter of count Murray of Melgum, who, being educated abroad, was unacquainted with English. Mr Geddes was employed by his lordship to teach her that language. In the house of his lordship he was introduced to the Rev. Mr Buchanan, who had been tutor to his lordship, and was now minister of the parish of Cullen, with whom he formed a most intimate acquaintance, and did not scruple to attend occasionally upon his ministry in the church of Cullen. This latter circumstance rekindled the long smothered ire of bishop Hay, who sent him an angry remonstrance, which he followed up by suspending him from all his ecclesiastical functions. This at once dissolved the tie between Mr Geddes and his congregation, from whom, in the end of the year 1779, he took an affectionate leave; and selling off what property he possessed at Enzie by public roup, prepared, without regret, to leave once more his native country. His people testified their affection for him, by buying up, with extraordinary avidity every thing that belonged to him, even to the articles of broken cups and saucers. Nor were his protestant friends wanting to him on this occasion. Through their joint influence, the university of Aberdeen stepped forward with praiseworthy liberality, and conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

Leaving Enzie, Dr Geddes devoted a few weeks to visits of friendship, and in company with lord Traquair, repaired to London in the beginning of the year 1780. Through the influence of lord Traquair he was almost immediately nominated to be officiating priest in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The literary fame he had already acquired by his imitations of Horace, and the letters with which he was honoured by his friends in the north, introduced him at once to the most celebrated literary characters of the day, which gave great elasticity to his naturally buoyant spirits. Several libraries, too, both public and private, being thrown open to him, he resumed with redoubled ardour his early project of translating the Bible for the use of his Roman Catholic countrymen. Through the duchess of Gordon he was also introduced to lord Petre, who was like himself a catholic, and was anxious to have a translation of the Bible such as Dr Geddes proposed to make. To enable him to go on without any interruption, his lordship generously allowed him a salary of two hundred pounds a year till the work should be finished, besides being at the expense of whatever private library he might find necessary for his purpose. This was encouragement not only beyond what he could reasonably have hoped for, but equal to all that he could have wished; and the same year he published a sketch of his plan under the title of an "Idea of a new version of the Holy Bible, for the use of the English catholics." This Idea in general, for we have not room to be particular, was "a new and faithful translation of the Bible, from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any gloss, commentary, or annotations, but such as are necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of the text, and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence." At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in the imperial ambassador's chapel, the establishment being suppressed by an order from the emperor Joseph II. He continued to preach, however, occasionally at the chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, till the

Easter holidays of 1782, when he found his time so completely taken up by his literary projects, especially his translation, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function. The following year Dr Geddes paid a visit to Scotland, during which he wrote "Linton, a Tweeddale pastoral, in honour of the birth of a son and heir to the noble house of Traquair." He passed with the earl and his countess on a tour to the south of France, came back with them to Scotland, and shortly after returned to London. He was about this time introduced to Dr Kennicott, by whom he was introduced to Dr Lowth, and both of them took a deep interest in his undertaking. At the suggestion of the latter, Dr Geddes wrote a new prospectus, detailing more fully and explicitly the plan he meant to follow. This was given to the public in 1786: it had a very general circulation, and was well received. In the year 1785, he was elected a corresponding member by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries,—an honour which he acknowledged in a Poetical Epistle to that respectable body. This epistle is printed in the first volume of the transactions of the society, as also a dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon dialect, with the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyllium of Theocritus, translated into Scottish verse.

He was now advancing with his translation; but in the year 1787, he published an appendix to his prospectus, in the form of a "Letter addressed to the bishop of London, containing queries, doubts, and difficulties relative to a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures." He published the same year a letter to Dr Priestly, in which he attempted to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity. About the same time he published his letter on the case of the Protestant dissenters. In the year 1788, he engaged as a contributor to the Analytical Review, for which he continued to furnish many valuable articles during the succeeding five years and a half. It was during the year just mentioned, that he issued "Proposals for printing by subscription a new translation of the Holy Bible," &c. His "General Answer to the counsels and criticisms that have been communicated to him since the publication of his proposals for printing a New Translation of the Bible," appeared in the year 1790. Of the same date was his "Answer to the bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter, by a protesting Catholic," followed by "A letter to the R.R. the archbishop and bishops of England, &c. *Carmen Seculare pro Gallica*, &c. and an *Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem*," &c. In the year 1791, he was afflicted with a dangerous fever, and on his recovery, accepted of an invitation to visit lord Petre at his seat at Norfolk. This journey produced "A Norfolk Tale, or a Journey from London to Norwich, with a Prologue and an Epilogue," published in the following year. The same year he published "An Apology for Slavery," a poem, entitled *L'Avocat du Diable*, &c. and "The first book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English verse," &c. Amidst these multifarious avocations, he was still proceeding with his translation, and in the year 1792, though his subscription list was far from being filled up, he published "The first volume of the Holy Bible, or the books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians, otherwise called the books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully translated from corrected texts of the originals, with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks."

Dr Geddes had by this time engaged a house for himself in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-bone, which he had fitted up with his own hands in a curious and convenient style. He had also a garden both before and behind his house, which he cultivated with the industry of a day labourer, and with the zeal of a botanizing philosopher; he had "a biblical apparatus [a library] through the princely munificence of lord Petre," superior to most individuals, and he wanted only the incense of the world's applause to this idol of

a translation, which he had set up to outrage alike the faith of Jews and Christians, to make his triumph perfect and his happiness complete. The vain man had by his "Idea," his "Prospectus," his "Appendix," and his "Answer to counsels and queries," secured, as he supposed, the concurrence of mankind, while he had in fact only excited expectations which, though his talents had been increased a hundred fold, he would have found himself unable to satisfy. What must he have felt or thought when he found that the book, instead of pleasing all the world, as he had vainly hoped, pleased nobody. Christians of every description considered it an insidious attack upon the foundations of their faith, and the Catholics, for whose benefit it was stated to have been mainly intended, were by a pastoral letter from their vicars apostolic forbidden to read it. Geddes, in an address to the public the following year, defended himself with great boldness, laying claim, like every other infidel, to the most fearless honesty and the strictest impartiality. The failure of his hopes, however, affected him so deeply that his biblical studies were for a time nearly suspended, and it required all the attentions of his friends to prevent him from sinking into the deepest despondency. In the meantime, he soothed, or attempted to soothe his chagrin by writing two Latin odes in praise of the French revolution, but which, on the representations of his friends, he allowed to lie unpublished till the period of the peace in the year 1801. He also wrote and published at this time a translation of Gresset's *Ver Vert*, or the Parrot of Nevers, which did him no honour, the poem having been only a short while before translated more happily by John Gilbert Couper. In the year 1795, he published an Ode to the honourable Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his speech on the Catholic question in the Irish house of commons, which was followed, in 1796, by a Hudibrastic paraphrase of a sermon which had been preached by a Dr Coulthurst on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, before the university of Cambridge. In 1797, he published "The battle of B \* n g \* r, or the Church's Triumph, a comic heroic poem in nine cantoes." The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between bishop Warren and Mr Grindly, and it is unquestionably the most finished of all his English poems. The same year he published the second volume of his translation of the Bible, which brought it to the end of the Book of Ruth, beyond which it was not destined to advance in its regular form.

During the two succeeding years he published two burlesque sermons, ridiculing the fast-day sermons of the established clergy, and in the year 1800, his *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, corresponding with a new translation of the Bible, vol. I., containing remarks on the Pentateuch. If there had been any doubt on the public mind respecting the principles of Dr Geddes, this volume must have removed it. These remarks are less scurrilous perhaps, but not less impious than those of Thomas Paine, and, professing to be the result of laborious learning, sound philosophy, and a most enlarged and enlightened Christianity, are to weak minds much more dangerous, and to the well informed more offensively disgusting, than even the flippancies of that celebrated unbeliever. They had not, however, the merit of meeting the general ideas of mankind, and we believe are already nearly forgotten. The encouragement with which he commenced his publication was greatly inadequate to meet the expense; and this encouragement, instead of increasing, had greatly fallen off;—the work being printed, too, solely at his own expense, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he had not the means of extricating himself. Never had a reckless man, however, such a singularly good fortune. We have already seen him twice rescued from ruin in a way, on both occasions, which no one less fortunate than himself could have hoped for, and on

this occasion his situation was no sooner disclosed than a plan was devised for his relief, and executed almost without his knowledge. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says his biographer, "that, without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, protestants and catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name, and many of whom had professed a dislike of his favourite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part at least of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The sum thus collected and expended for him, from the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, independent of his annuity from lord Petre, amounted to nine hundred pounds sterling. Nor was this all: measures were taken at the same time to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence in future. In the buoyancy of spirit which this great deliverance excited, he published a modest apology for the Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the members of both houses of parliament. This work was published anonymously; but it had been written twenty years before, and from the style and the whispers of his friends, was soon known to be his. It was translated into the French and German languages, and, considered as the work of a man who professed himself to be a catholic, is certainly a most singular performance. It was about this time the famous rencounter between William Gifford, author of the *Baviad*, and Dr Wolcott, better known by the name of *Peter Pindar*, took place in the shop of Mr Wright, bookseller in Piccadilly, on which Dr Geddes published "*Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards*." This he was at the trouble of composing first in Latin and afterwards translating into English, so that it was published in both languages. In the following year, 1801, Dr Geddes sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his noble patron, lord Petre. His lordship died of an attack of the gout in July 1801, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his latter will he bequeathed to Dr Geddes an annuity of one hundred pounds; and his son, the heir of his virtues as well as of his honours, when he intimated the circumstance to the Doctor, politely proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Nor ought it to be suppressed on this occasion, that Mr Timothy Brown of Chiswell street, before Dr Geddes was apprised of lord Petre's generous intentions, had engaged that the two hundred pounds a year which he was likely to lose by the death of his patron, should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of these friends who had so generously come forward on the late occasion, or in case of their declining it, by an equal salary to be annually paid by himself. Though he was thus no loser in a pecuniary point of view, he felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable; and it was long before his mind recovered so much calmness as to reason on the subject, or to admit the sympathies of surviving friends. His grief, however, began to assume a milder character, and he attempted to soothe his feelings by composing for his departed friend a Latin Elegy, and he gave successive proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel himself at any period sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favourite undertaking. At the pressing request of his friends, he began to prepare for the press the *Psalms*, to be printed in a separate volume. With the translation he did not get further than the one hundred and eighteenth. A trifling Ode on the restoration of peace, written in Latin, was one of his amusements at this time, and a Latin Elegy on the death of Gilbert Wakefield was the last of his compositions. Mr Wakefield died in the month of September, 1801, when Dr Geddes was already deeply affected with

the painful disease that carried him off early in the following spring. Through the whole of the winter, his sufferings must often have been extreme, though he had intervals in which he was comparatively easy. He died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

As there has been a story told of Dr Geddes having recanted his opinions on his death-bed, it becomes an imperious duty to state the manner of his death, as related by those who were about him at the time. The rites of that communion to which he professed to belong, were, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the greater part of them, administered to him by his friend M. St Martin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of divinity. The day before his death, Dr Geddes was visited by this friend, who was anxious to recall him from those aberrations he had made from the faith, and for this purpose had a list of questions drawn up, to which he meant to insist upon having answers. The state into which by this time the Doctor had fallen, rendered this impracticable. Sensible that he was in great danger, M. St Martin endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Geddes observed that in that case it would be necessary for him to make his confession. M. St Martin, aware that this was beyond his strength, replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary, that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. He could not, however, avoid putting a question or two upon the more important points upon which they differed. "You fully," said he, "believe in the Scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his sleep, said "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the Trinity?" "Certainly, but not in the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no,—not as you mean; in Jesus as our Saviour—but not in the atonement." After a pause he said, "I consent to all"—but of these words M. St Martin did not comprehend the meaning. The Doctor shortly after gave the sign that he was ready, and received from M. St Martin absolution in the way he had proposed. It was the intention of M. St Martin to have passed the night with him, but calling in the evening, found that the physician had forbidden any of his friends to be admitted. A domestic, however, in a neighbouring house, of the catholic persuasion, who knocked at the door during the night, just as he was dying, was admitted, and, according to the rites of her church, repeated over him the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria. Dr Geddes opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

Perhaps there is not in the history of literary men a character that calls more loudly for animadversion, or that requires a more skilful hand to lay it open, than that of Dr Geddes. He professed a savage sort of straight-forward honesty, that was at war on multiplied occasions with the common charities of life, yet amid his numerous writings, will any man take it on him to collect what were really his opinions upon the most important subjects of human contemplation? He professed himself a zealous catholic; yet of all or nearly all that constitutes a catholic, he has spoken with as much bitterness as it was possible for any protestant to have done. If it be objected that he added to the adjective Catholic the noun Christian, when he says that he admits nothing but what has been taught by Christ, his apostles, and successors in *every age and in every place*, we would ask how much we are the wiser. He professed to believe in Jesus Christ, and in the perfection of his code, but he held Moses to have been a man to be compared only with Numa and Lycurgus; a man who like them pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, from whom he never received any immediate communication; a man who had the art to take advantage of rarely occurring natural circumstances, and to persuade the Israelites that they were accomplished under his direction by the immediate power of

God; a man, in short, conspicuous above all men as a juggling impostor. Now to the divine mission of Moses, we have the direct testimony of Jesus Christ himself, with the express assurance, that without believing in Moses it was impossible to believe in him. But we cannot here follow out the subject, nor can we enter into any particular analysis of his works, to which the eccentricities of his character, the singularity of his opinions, and the peculiar circumstances of his life, gave for a time an interest, to which they were not at any time entitled. His translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much more easy it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings, than to perform them. We intended here to have noticed more particularly his translation of the first book of the Iliad of Homer, which he undertook for the purpose of demonstrating his superiority to Cowper, but upon second thoughts have forborne to disturb its peaceful slumbers. Upon the whole, Dr Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius, but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind.

GEDDES, JAMES, an advocate at the Scottish bar, was born in the county of Tweeddale, about the year 1710, and being the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, was educated by tutors under his father's roof. The progress which he made in the learned languages and philosophy, was considered extraordinary; and he fulfilled every promise at the university of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself, particularly in mathematics, which he studied under the celebrated Maclaurin. Having prepared himself for the bar, he entered as an advocate, and soon acquired considerable reputation. His labours as a lawyer did not prevent him from devoting much time to his favourite studies—the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity; and in 1748, he published at Glasgow his “*Essay on the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients, particularly Plato.*” The year after this publication, he died of lingering consumption, much regretted, both on account of his learning—the fruits of which had not been fully given to the world—and for his manners and disposition, which were in the highest degree amiable.

GEDDES, MICHAEL, a distinguished divine of the church of England, and author of some admired works, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1671, he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, in the same year. He was one of the first four natives of Scotland who were permitted to take advantage of the exhibitions founded in Balliol college, Oxford, by bishop Warner, with the view of promoting the interests of the Episcopal church in Scotland. Geddes, however, did not return to propagate or enforce the doctrines of that body in his native country. He went in 1678 to Lisbon, as chaplain to the English factory; the exercise of which function giving offence to the inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbidden to continue it. This persecution obviously arose from the attempts now making by king James at home to establish popery. The English merchants, resenting the violation of their privilege, wrote on the 7th of September to the bishop of London, representing their case, and their right to a chaplain, as established by the commercial treaty between England and Portugal; but before this letter reached its destination, the bishop was himself put into the same predicament as Mr Geddes, being suspended from his functions by the ecclesiastical commission. Finding that his case had become hopeless, Geddes returned to England, in May, 1688, where he took the



degree of doctor of laws, and after the promotion of Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.<sup>1</sup> During his residence at Lisbon, he had amassed a great quantity of documents respecting Spanish and Portuguese history, which enabled him, in 1694, to publish a volume, styled "The Church History of Malabar." Of this work, archbishop Tillotson says in a letter to bishop Burnet, dated June 28th, 1694, "Mr Geddes's book finds a general acceptance and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time." He was accordingly encouraged in 1696 to publish the "Church History of Ethiopia," and in 1697, a pamphlet entitled "The Council of Trent plainly discovered not to have been a free assembly." His great work, however, was his "Tracts on Divers Subjects," which appeared in 1714, in three volumes, being a translation of the most interesting pieces which he had collected at Lisbon, and of which a list is given in Moreri's Grand Dictionnaire Historique, art. Geddes. The learned doctor must have died previous to the succeeding year, as in 1715 appeared a posthumous volume of tracts against the Roman Catholic church, which completes the list of his publications.

GERARD, ALEXANDER, D. D., an eminent divine and writer, was the eldest son of the reverend Gilbert Gerard, minister of the chapel of Garioch, a parish in Aberdeenshire, where he was born on the 22nd of February, 1728. He was removed at the period destined for the commencement of his education, to the parish of Foveran, in the same county, the humble schoolmaster of which appears to have possessed such superior classical attainments, that the reverend gentleman felt justified in delivering his son up to his care,—a preference which the future fame of that son, founded on his correctness of acquisition and observation, must have given his friends no cause to regret. At the age of ten, on the death of his father, he was removed to the grammar school of Aberdeen, whence he emerged in two years, qualified to enter as a student of Marischal college. Having there performed his four years of academical attendance in the elementary branches, he finished his career with the usual ceremony of "the graduation," and appeared before the world in the capacity of master of arts at the age of sixteen,—not by any means the earliest age at which that degree is frequently granted, but certainly at a period sufficiently early to entitle him to the character of precocious genius. Immediately after finishing these branches of education, he commenced in the divinity hall of Aberdeen his theological studies, which he afterwards finished in Edinburgh.

In 1748, he was a licensed preacher of the church of Scotland, and about two years thereafter, Mr D. Fordyce, professor of natural philosophy in Marischal college, having gone abroad, he lectured in his stead; and on the regretted death of that gentleman, by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, just as he was returning to his friends, Mr Gerard was appointed to the vacant professorship. At the period when Mr Gerard was appointed to a chair in Marischal college, the philosophical curriculum, commencing with logic, proceeded immediately to the abstract subjects of ontology and pneumatics, the course gradually decreasing in abstruseness with the consideration of morals and politics, and terminating with the more definite and practical doctrines of natural philosophy. Through the whole of this varied course it was the duty of each individual to lead his pupils; mathematics and Greek being alone taught by separate professors. The evils of this system suggested to the professors of Marischal college, the formation of a plan for the radical alteration of the routine, which has since been most beneficially conducive to the progress of Scottish literature. A very curious and now rare pamphlet, from the pen of Dr Gerard, exists on this subject;

<sup>1</sup> Birch's Life of Tillotson, 334.

it is entitled, "Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it, drawn up by order of the Faculty," printed at Aberdeen in 1755; a little work of admirable perspicuity and sound logical reasoning. The rationale of the ancient system was founded on the presumption, that, as it is by the use of logic and the other metaphysical sciences alone, that we can arrange, digest, and reason upon the facts which come under our observation, these must be committed to the mind as rules of management, before any facts collected can be applied to their proper purposes, and that before any knowledge of nature, as it exists, is stored in the intellect, that intellect must be previously possessed of certain regulations, to the criterion of which the knowledge gained must be submitted. A quotation from Dr Gerard's little work will afford one of the best specimens of the now pretty generally understood confusion of this fallacy; speaking of logic, he says:—"This is one of the most abstruse and difficult branches of philosophy, and therefore quite improper to begin with. It has a strict dependence on many parts of knowledge: these must of consequence be premised, before it can be rightly apprehended,—the natural history of the human understanding must be known, and its phenomena discovered; for without this, the exertions of the intellectual faculties, and their application to the various subjects of science will be unintelligible. These phenomena must be not only narrated, but likewise, as far as possible, explained: for without investigating their general laws, no certain and general conclusions concerning their exercise can be deduced: nay, all sciences, all branches of knowledge whatever, must be premised as a groundwork to genuine logic. History has one kind of evidence, mathematics another; natural philosophy, one still different; the philosophy of nature, another distinct from all these; the subordinate branches of these several parts, have still minuter peculiarities in the evidence appropriated to them. An unprejudiced mind will in each of these be convinced by that species of argument which is peculiar to it, though it does not reflect how it comes to be convinced. By being conversant in them, one is prepared for the study of logic; for they supply them with a fund of materials: in them the different kinds of evidence and argument are exemplified: from them only these illustrations can be taken, without which its rules and precepts would be unintelligible." \* \* \* "In studying the particular sciences, reason will spontaneously exert itself: if the proper and natural method of reasoning is used, the mind will, by the native force of its faculties, perceive the evidence, and be convinced by it; though it does not reflect how this comes to pass, nor explicitly consider according to what general rules the understanding is exerted. By afterwards studying these rules, one will be further fitted for prosecuting the several sciences; the knowledge of the grounds and laws of evidence will give him the security of reflection, against employing wrong methods of proof, and improper kinds of evidence, additional to that of instinct and natural genius." The consequence of this acknowledgment of the supremacy of reason and practice over argumentation and theory, was the establishment of a course of lectures on natural and civil history, previously to inculcating the corresponding sciences of natural and mental philosophy; an institution from which,—wherever the former part consists of anything better than a blundering among explosive combustibles, and a clattering among glass vessels, or the latter is anything superior to a circumstantial narrative of ancient falsehoods and modern dates,—the student derives a basis of sound and useful information, on which the more metaphysical sciences may or may not be built, as circumstances or inclination admit. It is a striking instance of the propensity to follow with accuracy the beaten track, or to deviate only when some powerful spirit leads the way, that the system has never advanced further than

as laid down by Dr Gerard :—according to his system, jurisprudence and politics are to be preceded by pneumatology and natural theology, and is to be mixed up “with the perusal of some of the best ancient moralists.” Thus the studies of jurisprudence and politics, two sciences of strictly modern practical origin, are to be mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, who saw governments but in dreams, and calculated political contingencies in the abstract rules of mathematicians; and the British student finds, that the constitutional information, for which he will, at a more advanced period of life, discover that his country is renowned, is the only science from which the academical course has carefully excluded him, and which he is left to gather in after-life by desultory reading or miscellaneous conversation and practice. The change produced by Dr Gerard was sufficiently sweeping as a first step, and the reasons for it were a sufficient victory for one mind over the stubbornness of ancient prejudice. It is to be also remembered, that those admirable constitutional works on the government and constitutional laws of England, (which have not even yet been imitated in Scotland,) and that new science by which the resources of governments, and the relative powers of different forms of constitutions are made known like the circumstances of a private individual—the work of an illustrious Scotsman—had not then appeared. It will be for some approaching age to improve this admirable plan, and to place these sciences which treat of men—in the methods by which, as divided in different clusters through the earth, they have reduced abstract principles of morals to practice—as an intermediate exercise betwixt the acquisition of mere physical facts, and the study of those sciences which embrace an abstract speculation on these facts; keeping the mind chained as long as possible to things which exist in the world, in morals as well as in facts—the example of the tyrannical system never deviated from till the days of Bacon and Des Cartes—and of many reasonings of the present day, which it might be presumption to call absurd, showing us how naturally the mind indulges itself in erecting abstract edifices, out of proportions which are useless when they are reduced to the criterion of practice. In 1756, a prize offered by the philosophical society of Edinburgh, for the best essay on taste, was gained by Dr Gerard, and in 1759, he published this essay, the best and most popular of his philosophical works. It passed through three English editions and two French, in which language it was published by Eidous, along with three dissertations on the same subject by Voltaire, D’Alembert, and Montesquieu. This essay treats first of what the author calls taste, resolved into its simple elements, and contains a sort of analytical account of the different perceptible qualities, more or less united, to be found in any thing we admire: he then proceeds to consider the progress of the formation of taste, and ends with a discussion on the existence of a standard of taste. The author follows the system of reflex senses, propounded by Hutchinson. The system of association, upon which Mr Alison afterwards based a treatise on the same subject, is well considered by Gerard, along with many other qualifications, which he looks upon as the sources of the feeling—qualifications which other writers, whose ideas on the subject have not yet been confuted, have referred likewise to the principles of association for their first cause. Longinus, in his treatise on sublimity, if he has not directly maintained the original influence of association—or in other words, the connexion of the thing admired, either through cause and effect, or some other tie, with what is pleasing or good—as an origin of taste, at least in his reasonings and illustrations, gives cause to let it be perceived that he acknowledged such a principle to exist.<sup>1</sup> The first person, however, who laid it regularly down and argued upon it as a source of taste, appears to have been Dr Gerard, and his theory was ad-

<sup>1</sup> This is particularly remarkable at the commencement of the 7th section.

mitted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in as far as maintaining that beauty consists in an aptness of parts for the end to which they are assigned, may be considered an admission of the principle of association, at a period when one of an inversely opposite nature was supported by Burke and Price. To those who have followed these two, the name of Dugald Stewart has to be added; while that eminent scholar and great philosopher, Richard Payne Knight, has, amidst the various and rather ill-arranged mass of useful information and acute remark, accumulated in his inquiry into the principles of taste, well illustrated the theory propounded by Dr Gerard, and it has been finally enlarged and systematized by Dr Alison, and the author of a criticism on that work in the Edinburgh Review, one of the most beautiful and perfect specimens of modern composition. At the period when Dr Gerard produced this work, he was a member of a species of debating institution half way betwixt a society and a club, subject neither to the pompous state of the one, nor the excess of the other. This society is well known in Scottish literary history, as embracing among its members many of the first men of the time. More or less connected with it were the classical Blackwell, and Gregory, and Reid, the parent of that clear philosophy which has distinguished the country, and Beattie, who, though his merits have perhaps been too highly rated, was certainly fit to have been an ornament to any association of literary men. The use of literary societies has been much exaggerated; but still it cannot be denied, that wherever a spot becomes distinguished for many superior minds, there is one of these pleasing sources of activity and enjoyment to be found. That it is more the effect than the cause may be true. Such men as Gerard, Reid, and Blackwell would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but if the principle should maintain itself in no other science, it is at least true of philosophy, that intercommunication and untechnical debate, clear and purify the ideas previously formed, and ramify them to an extent of which the thinker had never previously dreamed. It must have been grateful beyond conception to the members of this retired and unostentatious body, to have found learning and elegance gradually brightening under their influence, after a dreary and unlettered series of ages which had passed over their university and the district,—to feel that, though living apart from the grand centres of literary attraction, they had the enjoyments these could bestow beside their own retired hearths and among their own professional colleagues,—and to be conscious that they bestowed a dignity on the spot they inhabited, which a long period of commercial prosperity could never bestow, and gave a tone to the literature of their institution which should continue when they were gone. In June 1760, Dr Gerard was chosen professor of divinity in Marischal college, being at the same time presented with the living of the Grey Friars' church, in Aberdeen. During his tenure of these situations, he published his "*Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity*," a subject which he treated with more soundness, reason, and gentlemanly spirit, than others of the same period have chosen to display. In June 1771, he resigned both these situations, and accepted the theological chair of King's college, and three years afterwards published "*An Essay on Genius*;" this production is stamped with the same strength of argument, and penetrating thought, every where to be found in the productions of the author. The heads of the subject are laid down with much philosophical correctness, and followed out with that liberal breadth of argument peculiar to those who prefer what is reasonable and true, to what supports an assumed theory. The language is not florid, and indeed does not aim at what is called elegant writing, but is admirably fitted to convey the ideas clearly and consistently, and seems more intended to be understood than to be admired. It commences with a discussion on the nature of "genius," which is

separated from the other mental powers, and particularly from "ability," with which many have confounded it. Genius is attributed in the first process of its formation to imagination, which discovers ideas, to be afterwards subjected to the arbitration of judgment; memory, and the other intellectual powers, being considered as subsidiary aids in instigating the movements of imagination. Dr Gerard afterwards presented to the world two volumes of sermons, published in 1780-82. He died on his 67th birth-day, 22d February, 1795. A sermon was preached on his funeral, and afterwards published, by his friend and pupil, Dr Skene Ogilvy of Old Aberdeen, which, along with the adulation common to such performances, enumerates many traits of character which the most undisguised flatterer could not have dared to have attributed to any but a good, able, and much esteemed man. A posthumous work, entitled "Pastoral Care," was published by Dr Gerard's son and successor in 1799.

GERARD, GILBERT, D.D., a divine, son of the foregoing, was born at Aberdeen on the 12th of August, 1760, and having acquired the earlier elements of his professional education in his native city, at a period when the eminence of several great and well known names dignified its universities, he finished it in the more extended sphere of tuition furnished by the university of Edinburgh. Before he reached the age of twenty-two, a vacancy having occurred in the ministry of the Scottish church of Amsterdam, a consideration of his father's qualifications prompted the consistory to invite the young divine to preach before them, and he was in consequence waited upon by that body, with an offer of the situation, which he accepted. During his residence in Holland, he turned the leisure allowed him by his clerical duties, and his knowledge of the Dutch language and of general science, to supporting, with the assistance of two literary friends, a periodical called "De Recensent." What may have been the intrinsic merits of this publication, it would be difficult to discover either through the medium of personal knowledge or general report, in a nation where modern Dutch literature is unnoticed and almost unknown; but it obtained the best suffrage of its utility in the place for which it was intended, an extensive circulation. During the same period, he likewise occupied himself in contributing to English literature; and on the establishment of the Analytical Review in 1788, he is understood to have conducted the department of that periodical referring to foreign literature,—a task for which his hereditary critical acuteness, his residence on the continent, and knowledge of the classical and of several modern languages, some of which were then much neglected, or had but begun to attract the attention of educated Englishmen, must have given peculiar facilities.

During his residence at Amsterdam, he received as a token of respect from his native university, the degree of doctor of divinity. Soon after this event, his professional and literary pursuits experienced a check from a severe illness which compelled him to seek early in life a restorative for his weakened constitution, in breathing the air of his native country. The change of climate had the desired effect, and he returned restored in health to his duties in Holland. These he continued to perform until April, 1791, when strong family motives induced him to relinquish a situation which habit and friendship had endeared to him, and his resignation of which was followed by the regrets of those who had experienced the merits of their pastor. He soon after accepted the vacant professorship of Greek in the King's college of Aberdeen, a situation which he held for four years. Although the students of King's college are not very numerous, and the endowments connected with the institution are by no means affluent, both are very respectable, and there is every opportunity on the part of the instructor to exhibit, both to the world in general, and to his students,

those qualifications which make the man respected and esteemed. From the youth of the scholars generally committed to his care, the professor of Greek is not only the public lecturer in his department of literature, but the instructor of its elements; and he has not only to perform the more ostentatious duty of exhibiting to and laying before them the stores of his own knowledge, but to find the means by which this knowledge shall enter the mind of each individual student. The instructor meets his pupils during a considerable portion of the day, and for several months together; and a knowledge of individuals is thus acquired, which gives the benevolent and active discernor of character an opportunity of uniting the friend and the instructor towards the young man who looks to him for knowledge. The discernment of the young respecting those who have cognizance over them is proverbially acute, and it frequently happens that while the learned world has overlooked, in the midst of brilliant talents or deep learning, the absence or presence of the other more personal qualities requisite for the instruction of youth, the pupils have discovered these, and, as a consequence, have pursued or neglected their proper studies, as they have personally respected or disliked the teacher of them. It was the consequence of the learning and personal worth of Dr Gerard, that his pupils respected his personal character, and acquired, from his knowledge and his kind friendship towards them, an enthusiasm for Greek literature, which few teachers have had the good fortune to inspire, and which has very seldom made its appearance in Scotland. A course of lectures on Grecian history and antiquities, (unfortunately never given to the world,) which he delivered to his students, is still remembered by many to whom they have formed a stable foundation for more extended knowledge of the subject.

During the latter years of his father's life, he had assisted him in the performance of his duties as professor of divinity, and on his death succeeded to that situation, where he brought, to the less irksome and more intellectual duties of instilling philosophic knowledge into more advanced minds, the same spirit of friendly intercourse which had distinguished his elementary instructions. The Scottish student of divinity is frequently a person who stands in need of a protector and friend, and when he has none to trust to but the teachers of the profession, on whom all have a claim, it is very natural that it might happen that these individuals should abstain from the exercise of any little patronage on which there is an indefinite number of claimants. It is, however, worthy of remark, to the honour of the individuals who have filled these situations, that many of them have been the best friends to their students, and that although they had at that period to look to them for no professional remuneration, they considered themselves as being from the commencement of the connexion, not only the temporary instructors, but the guardians of the future conduct, and the propagators of the future fortune, of their students. Of these feelings on the part of Dr Gerard, many now dispersed in respectable ministerial situations through the country, retain an affectionate recollection. His influence, which was considerable, was used in their favour, and where he had not that to bestow, he was still a friend. In 1811, he added to his professorship the second charge of the collegiate church of Old Aberdeen, and continued to hold both situations till his death. During the intervening period, he permitted his useful leisure hours to be occupied with the fulfilment of the duties of the mastership of mercatians for King's college,—certainly rather an anomalous office for a scholar, and one which, with a salary that could have been no inducement, seems to have brought along with it the qualities of its not very auspicious name. The duties, though petty and irksome in the extreme, were performed with the same scrupulous exactness which distinguished the professor's more im-

poorly paid; and he had in the end, from his diligent discharge of these duties, and his being able to procure, from his personal influence with the government, a grant in favour of the university, the satisfaction of removing it from the poverty with which it was threatened, by a decree of augmentation of the stipends of several churches, of which the college was titular. During this period of adversity, Dr Gerard had before his eyes the brighter prospect of a benefice in the Scottish metropolis, which many of his friends there attempted to prevail on him to accept; but the retired habits consequent on a studious life, the small but select circle of intimate friends in the neighbourhood of his college, to whose appearance and conversation long intercourse had endeared him, and a desire to benefit an institution he might almost call paternal, prompted him to continue his useful duties.

Dr Gilbert Gerard died on the 28th of September, 1815; and amidst the regrets of his acquaintances, the professional tributes to his memory were bestowed by the same reverend friend who preached his father's funeral sermon. His only published work is entitled, "Institutes of Biblical Criticism," published in Edinburgh in 1808. It has received from his profession that approval which the author's merit had given cause to anticipate. It is characterized by the author of the *Biographie Universelle* as "*Un ouvrage plein d'Érudition, et composé d'une main bien exercée.*"

GIB, ARTHUR, long distinguished as leader of the religious party called Anti-burghers, was a native of Penthshire, and born in 1713. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh. In the year 1741, he was ordained a minister of the Associated Presbytery, recently formed by Mr Ebenezer Erskine and others, as detailed in the life of that eminent individual. Mr Gib's charge was one of the most important in the kingdom—namely, the congregation in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, which was afterwards administered to by the late Dr Jamieson, the learned author of the Scottish Etymological Dictionary. It is well known, that during the progress of the rebellion of 1745-6, no body of individuals in Scotland manifested a warmer loyalty to the government than that to which Mr Gib belonged. When the insurgents were approaching Edinburgh, about three hundred of the congregation in and around the city took up arms for its defence, hired a sergeant to teach them the military exercise, and were the last to deliver up their arms to the castle, when all hope of holding out the town had been abandoned. During the six weeks occupation of the city by prince Charles, the established presbyterian clergy were, with one exception, mute, having mostly fled to the country. Mr Gib was also obliged to abandon his meeting-house; but he did not fly so far as the rest, nor resign himself to the same inactivity. He assembled his congregation at Dugherna, about three miles from the town, and within a short distance of Collington, where the insurgents kept a guard, and not only preached the gospel as usual, but declared that he was doing so, as an open-proof and testimony "that we are resolved, through the Lord's grace, to come to no terms with the enemy that has power in the city, but to look on them as enemies, showing ourselves to be none of their confederacy. In our public capacity," he continued, "it is fit that we make even a voluntary removal from the place where they are, as from the seat of robbers, showing ourselves resolved that their seat shall not be ours." Mr Gib thus discoursed on five different Sundays, "expressly preaching up an abhorrence of the rebellion then on foot, and a hope of its speedy overthrow, and every day making express mention of the reigning sovereign in public prayer; praying for the safety of his reign, the support of his government, a blessing on his family, and the preservation of the protestant succession in that family; at the same time praying for the sup-

pression of the rebellion, expressly under the characters of an unnatural and anti-christian rebellion, headed by a *popish pretender*." What is most surprising of all, to pursue Mr Gib's own relation of the circumstances, "while I was doing so, I ordinarily had a party of the rebel guard from Collington, who understood English, standing before me on the outside of the multitude. \* \* \* \* \* Though they then attended with signs of great displeasure, they were restrained from using any violence: yet, about that time, as I was passing on the road near Collington, one of them, who seemed to be in some command, fired at me; but, for any thing that appeared, it might be only with a design to fright me."

In a subsequent part of the campaign, when the Seceders re-appeared in arms along with the English army, Mr Gib seems to have accompanied them to Falkirk, where, a few hours before the battle of the 17th January, he distinguished himself by his activity in seizing a rebel spy. When the rebels in the evening took possession of Falkirk, they found that person in prison, and, being informed of what Mr Gib had done, made search for him through the town, with the intention, no doubt, of taking some measure of vengeance for his hostility.

Referring the reader to the article Ebenezer Erskine for an account of the schism which took place in 1747, in the Associated Presbytery, respecting the burghers oath, we shall only mention here that Mr Gib took a conspicuous part at the head of the more rigid party, termed Antiburghers, and continued during the rest of his life to be their ablest advocate and leader. A new meeting-house was opened by him, November 4, 1753, in Nicholson Street, in which he regularly preached for many years to about two thousand persons. His eminence in the public affairs of his sect at last obtained for him the popular epithet of *Pope Gib*, by which he was long remembered. In 1765, when the general assembly took the subject of the Secession into consideration, as a thing that "threatened the peace of the country," Mr Gib wrote a spirited remonstrance against that injurious imputation; and, as a proof of the attachment of the Seceders to the existing laws and government, detailed all those circumstances respecting the rebellion in 1745, which we have already embodied in this notice. In 1774, Mr Gib published "A Display of the Secession Testimony," in two volumes 8vo; and in 1784, his "Sacred Contemplations," at the end of which was "An Essay on Liberty and Necessity," in answer to lord Kames's essay on that subject. Mr Gib died, June 18, 1788, in the 75th year of his age, and 48th of his ministry, and was interred in the Grey Friars' church-yard, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory, at the expense of his grateful congregation.

GIBBS, JAMES, a celebrated architect, was born in Aberdeen, according to the most approved authority, in the year 1674, though Walpole and others place the date of his birth so late as 1683, a period which by no means accords with that of his advancement to fame in his profession. He was the only son (by his second wife)<sup>1</sup> of Peter Gibbs of Footdeesmire, a merchant, and, as it would appear from his designation, a proprietor or feuar of a piece of ground along the shore at the mouth of the Dee, where his house, called "the white house in the Links," remains an evidence of the respectability and comparative wealth of the family. Old Gibbs retained during the stormy period in which he lived, the religion of his ancestors, and was a staunch non-juror. An anecdote is preserved by his fellow townsmen characteristic of the man, and of the times. The conflicting religious doctrines of presbyterian and episcopalian, and of

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham errs in supposing that James Gibbs was the only son and only child of Peter Gibbs. There was a son William, by the first wife, who went abroad after his father's death—what became of him is not known.



course the political doctrines of whig and tory, found in Aberdeen a more equal balance than perhaps in any other part of Scotland; and history has shown, that in the event of a serious struggle, the influence of the Huntly family generally made the latter predominate; in these circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the city was a scene of perpetual petty jarring, and that pasquinades and abuse were liberally given and bitterly received. Gibbs being a Roman catholic, was the friend of neither party, and an object of peculiar antipathy to the presbyterians, who testified their sense of his importance and wickedness, by instructing the children in the neighbourhood to annoy the old gentleman in his premises, and hoot him on the streets. Gibbs, to show his respect for both parties, procured two fierce dogs for his personal protection, and engraved on the collar of the one "Luther," and on that of the other "Calvin;" the compliment was understood by neither party; and the dogs and their master being summoned before the bailies to answer for their respective misdemeanours, the former were delivered over to the proper authorities, and executed according to law, at the cross, the public place of execution.

The subject of our memoir attended the usual course of instruction at the grammar school, and was afterwards sent to Marischal college, where he accepted of the easily acquired degree of master of arts. At that period, when the Scottish colleges were partly remnants of monastic institutions, partly schools for the instruction of boys, having the indolence of the Roman catholic age strangely mingled with their own poverty and the simplicity of presbyterian government, there were but two classes of persons at the universities,—the sons of the noblemen and gentlemen, living in a style superior to the citizens, and a poorer class who were supported by the bursaries, or even common charity; the two classes wore different dresses, and of course had little communication with each other, excepting such as might exist between master and servant. To which of these classes Gibbs may have belonged is not known; that it should have been the latter is not so improbable as it may appear, as custom, the master of every thing, made it by no means degrading to those of inferior rank; while a burgess, whatever might have been his wealth, would hardly in that age have been so daring as to have forced his son upon the company of the offspring of lairds. For some time after his father's death, he was reared and educated by his uncle-in-law and aunt, Mr and Mrs Morrison, people in much the same respectable circumstances with his father; but, destitute perhaps from his religious principles, of influence sufficient to enable him to follow his father's business with success, or more probably having a natural bent for more tasteful pursuits, Gibbs, at the early age of twenty, left his native town, nor did he ever return to a spot not very congenial to the pursuit of a profession which must be studied among the remains of ancient grandeur, and practised in the midst of luxury and profusion. From 1694 to 1700 he studied architecture and the mathematics in Holland, under an architect to whom the biographers of Gibbs have given the merit of possessing reputation, while neither his own talents, nor the subsequent fame of his scholar has preserved his name from oblivion. Here the young architect made himself acquainted with the earl of Marr, then on a visit to the continent, who, according to the praiseworthy custom for which Scotsmen have received rather uncharitable commendation, of assisting their countrymen when they meet them in a foreign country, gave him recommendatory letters to influential friends, and money to enable him to pursue the study of his profession, for which it would appear the earl had a taste. After leaving Holland he spent ten years in Rome, where, according to Dallaway, he studied under P. F. Garroli, a sculptor

and architect of considerable merit; and where, like many who have afterwards issued from the great manufactory of artists, to astonish and gratify the world, he probably spent his days in labour and unnoticed retirement.

In 1716, Gibbs returned to Britain, and by the influence of the earl of Mar, then secretary of state for Scotland, in queen Anne's tory ministry, the means of exhibiting his knowledge to advantage, and gaining emolument, were amply provided. The renowned legislative measure, by which the metropolis was to be made religious by act of parliament, on the erection of fifty new churches, having been passed, the name of Gibbs was added by his generous patron to the list of those eminent architects who were to put the vast plan in execution. Previous, however, to commencing this undertaking, he completed the first of his architectural labours, the additional buildings to King's college, Cambridge. It is generally allowed that this is a production on which the architect could not have founded much of his fame.—“The diminutive Doric portico,” says Halliwell, “is certainly not a happy performance, either in the idea or the execution. Such an application of the order would not occur in a pure and classic instance.” While, on the other hand, the historian of the university of Cambridge, remarks,—“It is built of white Portland stone, beautifully carved, with a grand portico in the centre; and contains three lofty floors above the vaults. The apartments, which are twenty-four in number, are exceedingly well fitted up, and in every respect correspond with the outward appearance, which equals that of any other building in the university.”—The latter part of the sentence, in reference to the spot which contains King's college chapel and Close hall, is sufficiently complimentary for the architect's best works. The truth appears to be, that these tumults which architects have had more reason to detest than any other class of artists, restrained the genius of Gibbs in this instance, and that being obliged to apply given forms, size, and number of apartments, to given space, he had no opportunity of displaying the beauties which attend his other works. The first of “the fifty,” which Gibbs completed, was St Martin's in the Fields, a work which, with its calm tastefulness and simple grandeur, might have been honourable to the fame of the greatest architect the world ever saw. The west front of this building, surmounted by a light and neatly designed spire, is decorated with Corinthian columns, over which is a pediment, bearing the royal arms, the order is continued round the sides in pilasters, and there is a double series of windows in the inter-columniations, an unfortunate sacrifice of architectural effect to internal accommodation. The interior is divided into three unequal parts, by a range of four Corinthian columns and two pilasters on each side, standing on tall pedestals; the central space or nave being covered by a semi-elliptical ceiling, rising from the top of the entablature over each column, and is rich in moulding and ornament. The following plainly told, but judicious opinion of this building, is given by Ralph, in his “Critical Review of Public Buildings,”—“The portico is at once elegant and august, and the steeple above it ought to be considered as one of the most tolerable in town; if the steps arising from the street to the front could have been made regular, and on a line from end to end, it would have given it a very considerable grace: but, as the situation of the ground would not allow it, this is to be esteemed rather a misfortune than a fault. The round columns at each angle of the church are very well conceived, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building: the east end is remarkably elegant, and very justly challenges particular applause. In short, if there is anything wanting in this fabric, it is a little more elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional beauty without.”—“All the parts,” says Allan Cunningham, “are nicely distributed,

and nothing can be added, and nothing can be taken away. It is complete in itself; and refuses the admission of all other ornament." Much discussion seems to have been wasted on the portico of St Martin's, some insisting that it is a mere model of the portico of the Pantheon, or some other production of classic art; others maintaining its equality in merit and design to the best specimens of Grecian architecture. A portico, to bear the name, must have basements, pillars, capitals, and an entablature, just as a house must have a roof and windows, and a bridge arches; so that all originality can possibly achieve in such a work, is the harmony of the proportions and ornaments with each other, and with the rest of the building; it is in having made the proportions and ornaments different from those of the Pantheon, and adapted them to a totally different building, that Gibbs has been original, and it is on the pleasure which the whole combination affords to the eye, that his merit depends; a merit, however, which cannot come in competition with that of the *inventor* of the portico. The next church of the fifty, undertaken by Gibbs, was St Mary's in the Strand, a work on which, if we may judge from its appearance, he bestowed more labour with less effect. Instead of appearing like the effort of a single grand conception, forming a complete and harmonizing whole, it is like a number of efforts clustered together. Instead of being one design, the interstices in which are filled up by details, it is a number of details united together; in gazing on which, the mind, instead of absorbing the grandeur of the whole at one view, wanders from part to part, finding no common connexion by which the joint effect of all may be summoned before it at once.

Gibbs had just prepared the plans of the buildings we have described, and was in the high and palmy state of his fortunes, when his kind patron, having had his overtures to procure the allegiance of the Highland clans contumeliously rejected, and having been disgusted and thrown in fear by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and the exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, resolved to avenge his personal wrongs, by a recourse to the feudal fiction of the divine origin of hereditary right, to maintain the theoretic purity of which, a nation contented with its king was plunged in civil war, that the king they ought not to have been contented without, should be restored. Family ruin followed the rebellion of the earl; but the architect, fortified by the practice of a profession, the principles of which politics could not sway, and possessing knowledge which, unlike the art of governing, could not be deprived of its efficacy by the influence of the party in power, remained unmolested on the step to which he had advanced, and looked forward to the prospect of other honours.

The most magnificent, though perhaps not the purest of Gibbs's works, is the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, on the completion of which, he received the degree of master of arts from that university. The Radcliffe Library is of a circular form, rising in the centre of an oblong square of 370 feet by 110, with a cupola 140 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The lofty dome of this building raises itself in the centre of almost every prospect of Oxford, and gives a characteristic richness to the landscape. "The Radcliffe dome," says Allan Cunningham, "in fact conveys to every distant observer the idea of its being the air-hung crown of some gigantic cathedral or theatre. It is, perhaps, the grandest feature in the grandest of all English architectural landscapes; it rises wide and vast amid a thousand other fine buildings, interrupts the horizontal line, and materially increases the picturesque effect of Oxford;" on a nearer and more critical view, however, the spectator is disappointed to find that a want of proportion betwixt the cupola and the rest of the building, slight, but still very perceptible, deadens the effect of the magnificent whole, a mistake on the part of the architect, which has frequently turned the whole mass of taste

and beauty, into an object of ridicule to the bitter critic. It may be in general questioned how far such a building, however much its swelling magnificence may serve to add dignity to a vast prospect without, or solemnity to an important pageant within, is suited for the more retired purposes of a library. The student seldom wishes to have his attention obstructed by the intrusion of a wide prospect upon his view, whenever he raises his eyes; and perhaps when extent and grandeur are desired, a more suitable method of accommodating them with comfortable retirement may be found in a corridor or gallery, where any one, if he is anxious, may indulge himself by standing at one end, and luxuriate in the perspective of the whole length, while he who wishes to study uninterrupted may retire into a niche, whence his view is bounded by the opposite side of the narrow gallery. In the completion of the quadrangle of All Souls, Gibbs had the great good fortune to receive a growl of uncharitable praise from Walpole. "Gibbs," says the imperious critic; "though he knew little of Gothic architecture, was fortunate in the quadrangle of All Souls, which he has blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur, especially if seen through the gate that leads from the schools. The assemblage of buildings in that quarter, though no single one is beautiful, always struck me with singular pleasure, as it conveys such a vision of large edifices unbroken by private houses, as the mind is apt to entertain of renowned cities that exist no longer." Such is the opinion of one, whose taste in Gothic architecture, as represented by the straggling corridors, and grotesque and toyish mouldings of Strawberry Hill, would not, if curiosity thought it of sufficient importance to be inquired into, bear the test of a very scrutinizing posterity. A comparison of his various opinions of the different works of Gibbs are among the most amusing specimens of the construction of the noble critic's mind. Where the architect has been tasteful and correct, he only shows that mere mechanical knowledge may avoid faults, without furnishing beauties, "and where he has been picturesque and not void of grandeur, the whole is the effect of chance and blunder." Among the other works of Gibbs are the monument of Holles, duke of Newcastle, in Westminster Abbey, the senate house at Cambridge, a very favourable specimen of his correct and tasteful mind, and some buildings in the palace of Stowe. The west church of St Nicholas in his native city, a very fine specimen, if we may believe the accounts of contemporaries, of Gothic taste, having fallen nearly to ruin, Gibbs presented the magistrates with a plan for a church that might reinstate it. In this production we look in vain for the mind which imagined the lofty pomp of the Radcliffe, or the eye that traced the chaste proportions of St Martin's; and one might be inclined to question with what feelings the great architect made his donation. The outside is of no description of architecture under the sun "in particular;" it just consists of heavy freestone walls, with a roof, and plain Roman arched windows. The inside is a degree worse. Heavy groined arches, supported on heavier square pillars, overtop the gallery. There is in every corner all the gloom of the darkest Gothic, with square corners instead of florid mouldings, and square beams instead of clustered pillars; while the great arched windows of the Gothic piles, which send a broken and beautiful light into their farthest recesses, are specially avoided, a preference being given to wooden square glazed sashes, resembling those of a shop—in the whole, the building is one singularly repulsive to a correct taste.

Gibbs, in 1728, published a folio volume of designs, which have acquired more fame for the knowledge than for the genius displayed in them. By this work he gained the very considerable sum of £1900. Besides a set of plans of the Radcliffe Library, this forms his only published work: his other papers and manuscripts, along with his library, consisting of about 500 volumes,

he left as a donation to the Radcliffe Library. After five years of suffering from a lingering and painful complaint, this able, persevering, and upright man died in London, in 1754, having continued in the faith of his ancestors, and unmarried. He made several bequests, some to public charities, others to individuals, one of which in particular must not be passed over. Remembering the benefactor who had assisted him in the days of his labour and adversity, he left £1000, the whole of his plate, and an estate of £280 a year to the only son of the earl of Marr; an uncommon act of gratitude, which, however party feeling may regret the circumstances which caused it, will in the minds of good and generous men, exceed in merit all that the intellect of the artist ever achieved.

GIBSON, (SIR) ALEXANDER, lord Durie, an eminent lawyer and judge, was the son of George Gibson of Goldingstones, one of the clerks of session. The period of his birth we have been unable to discover; but as we find him admitted a clerk of session in 1594, we may conclude that he was born considerably more than twenty years previous to that period. It appears that the appointment of Gibson to this duty created a new clerkship, and as the addition in number would reduce the arbitrary sources of emolument of the other two clerks, it was naturally apprehended that the interloper would be received with the usual jealousy of those whose interests are unduly interfered with. King James the sixth, who had generally some deep and mysteriously wise purpose in all he did, chose to be personally present at the appointment of his nominee, in order that the royal choice might meet with no marks of contempt. The mindful sovereign was on this occasion pleased to be so highly delighted with the disinterested conduct of his obedient clerks, who had so willingly received a partner "at his Highness's wish and special desire," that he promised in presence of the court, to remunerate them with "ane sufficient casualty for said consents." The chamber in the Register house instituted by this appointment still retains the denomination of "Durie's Office." At that period the duties of a principal clerk of session were of a more politically important nature than they have been since the union: these officers had to register the decrees and acts of parliament, in addition to their present duties. The only remnant of their former occupations, is their acting as clerks at the elections of the Scottish representative peers. Gibson continued in his clerkship for all the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the higher offices to which he was afterwards promoted. In 1621, he was appointed a lord of session, and as the duties of judge and clerk were rather anomalous, we find by the books of sederunt, that the prudent clerk had procured in the previous month his son to be installed in the office. Mr Alexander Gibson, junior, being appointed conjunct clerk with Mr Alexander Gibson, senior, during the life of the longest liver, the senior, it may be presumed, continued to draw the salary, without being much troubled with the duties. Seven years after his appointment to the bench, we find him accepting a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, with a grant of some few square miles of land in that district. In 1633, he was appointed a member of one of the committees for the revision of the laws and customs of the country. In 1640, he appears to have been elected a member of the committee of estates, and his appointment as judge was continued under a new commission to the court in 1641. From the period of his elevation to the bench in 1621, till the year 1642, this laborious lawyer preserved notes of such decisions of the court as he considered worthy of being recorded as precedents, a task for which a previously extensive practice had fitted him. These were published by his son in one volume folio, in 1688, and are valuable as the earliest digested collection of decisions in Scottish law. Their chief peculiarities are their brevity, and, what would not

appear at first sight a natural consequence, their obscurity. But Gibson produced by a too niggardly supply, the effect which is frequently attributed to a too great multitude of words. He appears, however, to have always known his own meaning; and when, with a little consideration, his *rationes decidendi* are discovered, they are found to be soundly stated. The clamours which other judges of the day caused to be raised against their dishonesty and cupidity, were not applied to Durie. He seems, indeed, as far as the habits of the times could allow the virtue to exist, except in an absolutely pure being, to have been a just and fearless judge, for in a period of general legal rapine and pusillanimity, the possession of a very moderate share of honesty and firmness in the judgment seat, made their proprietor worthy of a nation's honour. If the affirmation of a professional brother may be credited, Durie possessed, according to the opinion of Forbes, a later collector of decisions, most of the intellectual and moral qualities which can dignify the bench. It is a proof of the respect in which his brethren held him, that while the office continued elective in the senators of the college, he was repeatedly chosen as president. At that period, the legal practice of Scotland appeared to have improved for the mere purpose of substituting sophism and injustice under form, for rude equity; it was a handle to be made use of, rather than a rule to be applied. The crown had recourse to legal fictions, and unjust and arbitrary presumptions, in its dealings with the subject. The subject, instead of calling for a recourse to constitutional principles, sometimes rose against the administration of the law, just or unjust. With private parties, the more powerful got the command of the law, and used it against the weaker. A striking instance of contempt towards the laws, which took place during one of the presidencies of Gibson of Durie is mentioned in Douglas's Baronage, and Forbes's Journal, and is more fully and pleasingly narrated in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. The earl of Traquair had an action depending in court, in which it was understood the president would, by his influence, cause the court to give judgment against him. A border free-boater, or gentleman thief, known by the name of Christie's Will, owed to the peer some gratitude and allegiance, having gained his protection by an insolent jest on the subject of his having been imprisoned for theft. This person being a gentleman both by descent and education, insinuated himself into the president's company during his usual morning ride on the sands of Leith. On the two reaching a very lonely spot, the judge was snatched from his horse, rolled into a blanket, and carried off he knew not where. He was imprisoned three months, during which time his friends and himself considered that he was in fairy-land. The case was decided in favour of Traquair, and a new president appointed, when the judge one morning found himself laid down in the exact spot from which he had been so suddenly carried off, and returned to claim his privileges. This useful man died at his house of Durie on the 10th of June, 1646. He left behind him a son of his own name, who was active among the other persons of high rank, who came forward to protect their national church from the imposition of a foreign liturgy. He is known as having boldly resisted one of king Charles the first's prerogations, by refusing the performance of the duty of clerk of parliament, already alluded to. He appears, however, not to have always given satisfaction to the cause he had so well espoused, as he is more than once mentioned in Lamont's Diary as a malignant. He was raised to the bench in 1646. Besides this son, the wealth of the father allowed him to provide a junior branch of the family with the estate of Adistone in Lothian.

GIBSON, PATRICK, an eminent artist and writer upon art, was born at Edinburgh, in December, 1782. He was the son of respectable parents, who gave

him an excellent classical education, partly at the High School, and partly at a private academy. In his school-boy days, he manifested a decided taste for literature, accompanied by a talent for drawing figures, which induced his father to place him as an apprentice under Mr Nasmyth, the distinguished landscape-painter; who was, in this manner, the means of bringing forward many men of genius in the arts. Contemporary with Mr Gibson, as a student in this school, was Mr Nasmyth's son Peter; and it is painful to think, that both of these ingenious pupils should have gone down to the grave before their master. Mr Nasmyth's academy was one in no ordinary degree advantageous to his apprentices: such talents as they possessed were generally brought into speedy use in painting and copying landscapes, which he himself finished and sold; and thus they received encouragement from seeing works, of which a part of the merit was their own, brought rapidly into the notice of the world. About the same time, Mr Gibson attended the trustees' academy, then taught with distinguished success by Mr Graham. While advancing in the practical part of his profession, Mr Gibson, from his taste for general study, paid a greater share of attention to the branches of knowledge connected with it, than the most of artists had it in their power to bestow. He studied the mathematics with particular care, and attained an acquaintance with perspective, and with the theory of art in general, which was in his own lifetime quite unexampled in Scottish—perhaps in British—art. Mr Gibson, indeed, might rather be described as a man of high literary and scientific accomplishments, pursuing art as a profession, than as an artist, in the sense in which that term is generally understood. In landscape painting, he showed a decided preference for the classical style of Domenichino and Nicholas Poussin; and having studied architectural drawing with much care, he became remarkably happy in the views of temples and other classical buildings, which he introduced into his works. When still a very young man, Mr Gibson went to London, and studied the best works of art to be found in that metropolis,—the state of the continent at that time preventing him from pursuing his investigations any further.

Mr Gibson painted many landscapes, which have found their way into the collections of the most respectable amateurs in his native country. His own exquisitely delicate and fastidious taste, perhaps prevented him from attaining full success at first, but he was continually improving; and, great as the triumphs of his pencil ultimately were, it is not too much to say, that, if life had been spared to him, he must have reached still higher degrees of perfection.

Mr Gibson's professional taste and skill, along with his well known literary habits, pointed him out as a proper individual to write, not only criticisms upon the works of modern art brought under public notice, but articles upon the fundamental principles of the fine arts, in works embracing miscellaneous knowledge. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Edinensis*, an elaborate article under the head "Design," embracing the history, theory, and practice of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and concluding with an admirable treatise on his favourite subject, "Linear Perspective." This article extends to one hundred and six pages of quarto, in double columns, and is illustrated by various drawings. It is, perhaps, the best treatise on the various subjects which it embraces, ever contributed to an encyclopædia. To Dr Brewster's more extensive work, entitled the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, Mr Gibson contributed the articles, Drawing, Engraving, and Miniature-painting, all of which attracted notice, for the full and accurate knowledge upon which they appeared to be based. In the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1816, published in 1820, being edited by Mr J. G. Lockhart, was an article by Mr Gibson, entitled "A View of the Progress and Present State of the Art of Design in Britain." It is written with much

discrimination and judgment, and is certainly worthy of being transferred into some more extended sphere of publication than the local work in which it appeared. An article of a similar kind, but confined to the progress of the Fine Arts in Scotland, appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review*, edited by Dr Richard Poole. In 1818, Mr Gibson published a thin quarto volume, entitled "*Etchings of Select Views in Edinburgh, with letter-press descriptions.*" The subjects chiefly selected were either street scenes about to be altered by the removal of old buildings, or parts opened up temporarily by the progress of improvements, and which therefore could never again be observable in the point of view chosen by the artist. The most remarkable critical effort of Mr Gibson was an anonymous *jeu d'esprit*, published in 1822, in reference to the exhibition of the works of living artists then open, under the care of the Royal Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. It assumed the form of a report, by a society of Cognoscenti, upon these works of art, and treated the merits of the Scottish painters, Mr Gibson himself included, with great candour and impartiality. The style of this pamphlet, though in no case unjustly severe, was so different from the indulgent remarks of periodical writers, whose names are generally known, and whose acquaintance with the artists too often forbids rigid truth, that it occasioned a high degree of indignation among the author's brethren, and induced them to take some steps that only tended to expose themselves to ridicule. Suspecting that the traitor was a member of their own body, they commenced the subscription of a paper, disclaiming the authorship, and this being carried to many different artists for their adherence, was refused by no one till it came to Mr Gibson, who excused himself upon general principles from subscribing such a paper, and dismissed the intruders with a protest against his being supposed on that account to be the author. The real cause which moved Mr Gibson to put forth this half-jesting half-earnest criticism upon his brethren, was an ungenerous attack upon his own works, which had appeared in a newspaper the previous year, and which, though he did not pretend to trace it to the hand of any of his fellow labourers, was enjoyed, as he thought, in too malicious a manner by some, to whom he had formerly shown much kindness. He retained his secret, and enjoyed his joke, to the last, and it is only here that his concern in the pamphlet is for the first time disclosed.

In 1826, he gave to the world, "*A Letter to the directors and managers of the Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland.*" Towards the close of his life he had composed, with extraordinary care, a short and practical work on perspective, which was put to press, but kept back on account of his decease. It is to be hoped that a work composed on a most useful subject, by one so peculiarly qualified to handle it, will not be lost to the world.

In June, 1818, Mr Gibson was married to Miss Isabella M. Scott, daughter of his esteemed friend Mr William Scott, the well-known writer upon elocution. By this lady he had three daughters and a son, the last of whom died in infancy. In April, 1824, he removed from Edinburgh, where he had spent the most of his life, to Dollar, having accepted the situation of professor of painting in the academy founded at that village. In this scene, quite unsuited to his mind, he spent the last five years of his life, of which three were embittered in no ordinary degree by ill health. After enduring with manly and unshrinking fortitude the pains of an uncommonly severe malady, he expired, August 26, 1829, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Mr Gibson was not more distinguished in public by his information, taste, and professional success, than he was in private by his upright conduct, his mild and affectionate disposition, and his righteous fulfilment of every moral



duty. He possessed great talents in conversation, and could suit himself in such a manner to every kind of company, that old and young, cheerful and grave, were alike pleased. He had an immense fund of humour; and what gave it perhaps its best charm, was the apparently unintentional manner in which he gave it vent, and the fixed serenity of countenance which he was able to preserve, while all were laughing around him. There are few men in whom the elements of genius are so admirably blended with those of true goodness, and all that can render a man beloved, as they were in Patrick Gibson.

GILLESPIE, GEORGE, an eminent divine at a time when divines were nearly the most eminent class of individuals in Scotland, was the son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister at Kirkcaldy, and was born January 21, 1613. His advance in his studies was so rapid, that he was laureated in his seventeenth year. About the year 1634, when he must have still been very young, he is known to have been chaplain to viscount Kenmure: at a subsequent period, he lived in the same capacity with the earl of Cassils. While in the latter situation, he wrote a work called "English Popish Ceremonies," in which, as the title implies, he endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the episcopal innovations of Charles I., as tending to popery. This book he published when he was about twenty-two years of age, and it was soon after prohibited by the bishops. Had episcopacy continued triumphant, it is likely that Mr Gillespie's advance in the church would have been retarded; but the signing of the national covenant early in 1638, brought about a different state of things. In April that year, a vacancy occurring at Wemyss in Fife, he was appointed minister, and at the general assembly which took place at Glasgow in the ensuing November, he had the honour to preach one of the daily sermons before the house, for which he took as his text, "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord." The earl of Argyre, who had then just joined the covenanting cause, and was still a member of the privy council, thought that the preacher had trenched a little, in this discourse, upon the royal prerogative, and said a few words to the assembly, with the intention of warning them against such errors for the future.

In 1641, an attempt was made to obtain the transportation of Mr Gillespie to Aberdeen; but the general assembly, in compliance with his own wishes, ordained him to remain at Wemyss. When the king visited Scotland in the autumn of this year, Mr Gillespie preached before him in the Abbey church at Edinburgh, on the afternoon of Sunday the 12th of September. In the succeeding year, he was removed by the general assembly to Edinburgh, of which he continued to be one of the stated clergymen till his death. Mr Gillespie had the honour to be one of the four ministers deputed by the Scottish church in 1543, to attend the Westminster assembly of divines; and it is generally conceded, that his learning, zeal, and judgment were of the greatest service in carrying through the work of that venerable body, particularly in forming the directory of worship, the catechisms, and other important articles of religion, which it was the business of the assembly to prepare and sanction. Baillie thus alludes to him in his letters: "We got good help in our assembly debates, of lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the assembly." It appears that Mr Gillespie composed six volumes of manuscript during the course of his attendance at the Westminster assembly; and these were extant in 1707,<sup>1</sup> though we are not aware of their still continuing in existence. He had also, when in England, prepared his sermons for the press,—part being controversial, and part practical; but they are said to have been suppressed in the hands of the

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's *Analects*, (MS. Adv. Lib.) i. 329.

printer, with whom he left them, through the instrumentality of the Independents, who dreaded their publication. He also wrote a piece against toleration, entitled "Wholesome Severity reconciled with Christian Liberty."

In 1648, Mr Gillespie had the honour to be moderator of the general assembly; and the last of his compositions was the Commission of the Kirk's Answer to the Estates' Observations on the Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the unlawfulness of the engagement. For some months before this assembly, he had been greatly reduced in body by a cough and perspiration, which now at length came to a height, and threatened fatal consequences. Thinking, perhaps, that his native air would be of service, he went to Kirkcaldy with his wife, and lived there for some months; but his illness nevertheless advanced so fast, that, early in December, his friends despaired of his life, and despatched letters to his brother, to Mr Samuel Rutherford, the marquis of Argyll, and other distinguished individuals, who took an interest in him, mentioning that if they wished to see him in life, speed would be necessary. The remainder of his life may be best related in the words of Wodrow, as taken in 1707, from the mouth of Mr Patrick Simpson, who was cousin to Mr Gillespie, and had witnessed the whole scene of his death-bed:

"Monday, December 11, came my lord Argyll, Castles, Elcho, and Warrington, to visit him. He did faithfully declare his mind to them as public men, in that point whereof he hath left a testimony to the view of the world, as afterwards; and though speaking was very burdensome to him, and troublesome, yet he spared not very freely to fasten their duty upon them.

"The exercise of his mind at the time of his sickness was very sad and constant, without comfortable manifestations, and sensible presence for the time; yet he continued in a constant faith of adherence, which ended in an adhering assurance, his gripes growing still the stronger.

"One day, a fortnight before his death, he had leaned down on a little bed, and taken a fit of faintness, and his mind being heavily exercised, and lifting up his eyes, this expression fell with great weight from his mouth, 'O! my dear Lord, forsake me not for ever.' His weariness of this life was very great, and his longing to be relieved, and to be where the veil would be taken away.

"December 14, he was in heavy sickness, and three pastors came in the afternoon to visit him, of whom one said to him, 'The Lord hath made you faithful in all he hath employed you in, and it's likely we be put to the trial; therefore what encouragement do you give us thereanent?' Whereto he answered, in few words, 'I have gotten more by the Lord's immediate assistance than by study, in the disputes I had in the assembly of divines in England; therefore, let never men distrust God for assistance, that cast themselves on him, and follow his calling. For my part, the time I have had in the exercise of the ministry is but a moment!' To which sentence another pastor answered, 'But your moment hath exceeded the gray heads of others; this I may speak without flattery.' To which he answered, disclaiming it with a no; for he desired still to have Christ exalted, as he said at the same time, and to another; and at other times, when any such thing was spoken to him, 'What are all my righteousnesses but rotten rags? all that I have done cannot abide the touchstone of His justice; they are all but abominations, and as an unclean thing, when they are reckoned between God and me. Christ is all things, and I am nothing.' The other pastor, when the rest were out, asked whether he was enjoying the comforts of God's presence, or if they were for a time suspended. He answered, 'Indeed, they are suspended.' Then within a little while he said, 'Comforts! ay comforts!' meaning that they were not easily attained. His wife said, 'What-

reck? the comfort of believing is not suspended.' He said, 'Noe.' Speaking further to his condition, he said, 'Although that I should never more see any light of comfort, that I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe that He is mine and that I am His.' "

Mr Gillespie lingered two days longer, and expired almost imperceptibly, December 16, 1646. On the preceding day he had written and signed a paper, in which "he gave faithful and clear testimony to the work and cause of God, and against the enemies thereof, to stop the mouths of calumniators, and confirm his children." The object of the paper was to prevent, if possible, any union of the friends of the church of Scotland with the loyalists, in behalf of an uncovenanted monarch. The Committee of Estates testified the public gratitude to Mr Gillespie by voting his widow and children a thousand pounds, which, however, from the speedily ensuing troubles of the times, was never paid.

GILLESPIE, REV. THOMAS, was the first relief minister, and founder of the Synod of Relief. He was born in the year 1708, at Clearburn, in the parish of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, of parents distinguished for their piety. He lost his father, who was a farmer and brewer, when he was very young. His mother, who seems to have been a woman of decided piety, and at the same time of active business habits, continued her husband's business as farmer and brewer after his death. Gillespie, who was of delicate constitution and melancholy temperament, seems throughout life to have been marked by the shyness of disposition, the reserved manners, the fondness for retirement, and the tenderness, yet conscientiousness of feeling, which usually distinguish the boy brought up in a retired domestic way, under a fond and widowed mother. His mother was accustomed to attend the services, at the dispensation of the Lord's supper, by Mr Wilson of Maxton, Mr Boston of Etrick, Mr Davidson of Galashiels, and other eminent evangelical ministers, with whom the south of Scotland was at that time favoured. On these occasions she commonly took with her, her son Thomas, in whom the anxious mother had not yet traced those satisfactory evidences of decisive piety which her maternal regard for his best interests so earnestly desired; on one of these occasions she mentioned her distress on account of her son to Mr Boston, who, at her request, spoke to him in private on his eternal interests. His counsels made a decisive impression upon the mind of Gillespie, at that time a young man about twenty years of age, and led him soon after to commence his studies, as preparatory to the ministry, which he prosecuted at the university of Edinburgh.

After the origin of the Secession, his mother became attached to that body; and through her advice and influence, Gillespie went to Perth to study under Mr Wilson, their first theological professor. In this step he seems to have been influenced more by a desire to comply with the wishes of a fond and pious mother, than by personal attachment to the peculiarities of the Secession. His whole stay at Perth was ten days; for as soon as from conversations with Mr Wilson, he fully comprehended the principles on which the Secession was proceeding, he withdrew. He proceeded to England, where he pursued his studies at the Theological Academy in Northampton, at that time superintended by the celebrated Dr Philip Doddridge. When he thus went to England, Dr Erskine states (in his preface to his *Essay on Temptations*), that he had attended the humanity, philosophy, and divinity classes in the college of Edinburgh, and that he carried with him attestations of his personal piety, and acquirements in philosophical and theological literature, from several ministers of the church of Scotland: viz. Rev. Messrs Davidson of Galashiels, Wilson of Maxton, Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Smith of Newburn, Guthart, Webster, and Hepburn, of Edinburgh, James Walker of Canongate, M<sup>r</sup> Vicar of West Kirk, Kid of Queensferry, Bonnar of Torphichen,

and Wardrope of Whitburn—all of whom mention their having been intimately acquainted with him.

After the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel, 30th October, 1740, by a respectable class of English dissenters, among whom Dr Doddridge presided as Moderator, and ordained to the work of the ministry, 22d Jan. 1741. It is said that his first charge was over a dissenting congregation in the north of England. If so, it must have been for a very short time, for in March following he returned to Scotland, bringing with him warm and ample recommendations from Dr Doddridge, Mr Job Orton, and thirteen other ministers in that neighbourhood, "as a deeply experienced Christian, well qualified for the important work of the ministry, and one who bade fair to prove an ornament to his holy profession, and an instrument of considerable usefulness to the souls of men."

Soon after his return to Scotland he got a regular call to the parish of Carnock near Dunfermline, to which he was presented by Mr Erskine of Carnock. At that time, the forms of procedure in the church of Scotland seem to have been not so strict, and unaccommodating to circumstances, as they are now; for in inducting him into Carnock, the presbytery of Dunfermline proceeded on his deed of license and ordination by the English dissenters as valid, and dealt by him as one who had already held a charge. At his admission into Carnock, he showed the influence which his theological education at Northampton, and his intercourse with the English dissenters had exerted upon his opinions as to christian liberty, by objecting to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion; he was permitted to subscribe with an explanation of his meaning upon this point. The passages of the Confession to which he objected, were the 4th section of the 20th chapter, and the 3d section of the 23d chapter; which declare that those may be proceeded against by the power of the civil magistrate, who publish such opinions, or maintain such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, the known principles of Christianity, or the power of godliness, or which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church; and that the civil magistrate, hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, be prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed, for the better effecting of which, he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Mr Gillespie laboured as parish minister of Carnock till the year 1752. He was a careful student, a diligent and faithful minister, and generally acceptable and useful in his pulpit labours, both in his own parish, and as an occasional assistant elsewhere. The acceptance which his pulpit discourses met, was not owing to any advantage of manner, for his delivery was uncouth, and his whole manner that of one nervously afraid of his audience. But he was solemn and affectionate, much impressed himself, as conscious of his awful charge. He had struggled hard himself against the oppression of a constitutional tendency to despondency; and in his discourses he sought especially to comfort and counsel the desponding and tempted Christian. Dr John Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer, and who besides this often heard him occasionally, bears witness in his preface to Mr Gillespie's *Essay on the continuance of immediate revelations in the church*, that "he studied in his ministry what was most needful for the bulk of his hearers, giving law and gospel, comfort and terror, privileges and duties, their proper place. I never (says he) sat under a minis-

try better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions, and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the difference between vital Christianity, and specious counterfeit appearances of it."

During the eleven years that Mr Gillespie occupied the charge of Carnock, he kept close to the humble and unostentatious yet useful duties of the pastor of a country parish. He seems never to have taken any prominent part in the business of the church courts; he was, both from habit and disposition, retiring and reserved, fond of the studies of the closet, but destitute alike of the ability and the inclination for managing public affairs, and leading the van in ecclesiastical warfare. It was his scrupulous conscientiousness, not his ambition, that made him the founder of a party. He was thrust on it by circumstances beyond his intention.

Mr Gillespie entered the ministry in the Church of Scotland, when the harsh operation of the law of patronage, was causing painful and lamentable contests between the people and the dominant party in the church courts. It had already caused the Secession; and there still remained in the church of Scotland many elements of discord and sources of heart-burning; whole presbyteries even refused to act, when the settlement of obnoxious presentees was enjoined by the superior courts;—and to effect the execution of their sentences appointing the settlement of unpopular individuals, the general assembly had at times wholly to supersede the functions of the presbytery, and appoint the induction to be completed by committees of individuals not connected with the presbytery; it might be men who, without scruple, were willing to act on whatever was ecclesiastical law, and carry through the matter intrusted to their care, in the face of the menaces or murmurs of a dissatisfied and protesting people.

This method of settling obnoxious presentees by *riding committees*, as they were called in those days by the populace, was confessedly a most irregular and unconstitutional device. It was a clumsy expedient to avoid coming in direct collision with recalcitrant presbyteries. It was found to answer the purpose very imperfectly; and it was soon seen, that there remained to the General Assembly but two alternatives, either to soften the operation of the law of patronage, and give way to the popular voice, or to compel the presbyteries to settle every man who received a presentation, against whom heresy or immorality could not be proved; otherwise there would be perpetual collision between themselves and the inferior courts. The assembly chose the latter and the bolder alternative. In 1750, accordingly, the assembly referred it to their Commission, "to consider of a method for securing the execution of the sentences of the Assembly and Commission, and empowered them to censure any presbyteries which might be disobedient to any of the sentences pronounced by that meeting of Assembly."

In 1751 Mr Andrew Richardson, previously settled at Broughton, in the parish of Biggar, was presented to the charge of Inverkeithing, by the patron of the parish. He was unacceptable to the body of the people, and his call was signed only by a few non-resident heritors. Opposition being made to his settlement by the parishioners, the presbytery of Dunfermline, and after them the synod of Fife, refused to comply with the orders of the commission to proceed to the settlement of Mr Richardson. The case came before the assembly in 1752; and it was justly anticipated that it would bring to an issue, the conflict between recalcitrant presbyteries, who had a conscientious regard for the rights of the people, and the dominant party in the assembly, who had no regard for them, but were resolved to give effect to every presentation. The lord commissioner, the earl of Leven, in his opening speech, with sufficient plainness indicated the course of procedure which the government desired and expected the assembly should pur-

sue, in the circumstances; and said that it was more than high time to put a stop to the growing evil of inferior courts assuming the liberty of disputing and disobeying their decisions. The ruling party in the assembly were prompt in obeying these orders of the lord commissioner. They acted with more energy than prudence or tenderness. When the Inverkeithing case came to be considered, the assembly sent the presbytery from their bar to Inverkeithing with orders to complete Mr Richardson's induction: they enjoined every member of presbytery to be present at the admission: they changed the legal quorum from three to five. These orders were issued by the assembly on Monday; the induction was appointed to take place on Thursday, and the members of the presbytery were all commanded to appear at the bar of the assembly, on Friday, to report their fulfilment of these orders.

On Friday when the members of the Dunfermline presbytery were called upon, it appeared that only three had attended at Inverkeithing, and they not being the number required by the decision of the assembly to constitute a presbytery, did not feel themselves authorized to proceed to the admission. Of the other six, Mr Gillespie and other five pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a paper in defence of their conduct, quoting in their justification, the language of the assembly itself, who in 1736 had declared, that "it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, the principle of the church, that no minister shall be introduced into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and therefore it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of the church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ."

The assembly paid small regard to their own former declarations thus brought under their notice. They felt, indeed, that it would be rather *trenchant* and severe, by one fell swoop to depose six ministers all equally guilty: they resolved, however, by a majority, to depose one of the six. This was intimated to them with orders to attend on the morrow. Next day Mr Gillespie gave in a paper, justifying a statement made in their joint representation, that the assembly had themselves stigmatized the act of 1712, restoring patronages, as an infraction of the settlement made at the union. The proof of this statement, which had been questioned in the previous day's debate, he proved by quotations from the assembly's act of 1736, made at the time when they wished to lure back and reconcile the four seceding brethren—the founders of the Secession.

After prayer to God for direction—which, in the circumstances of the case, and in the predetermined state of mind in which the ruling party in the assembly were, was a profane mockery of heaven,—they proceeded to decide which of the six should be deposed. A great majority of the assembly (a hundred and two) declined voting; fifty-two voted that Mr Gillespie should be deposed, and four that some one of the others should be taken. The moderator then pronounced the sentence of deposition on Mr Gillespie. He stood at the bar to receive it, and when he had heard it to an end, with the meek dignity of conscious innocence, replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, with reverence and awe on account of the divine conduct in it. But I rejoice that it is given to me on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake."

This hard measure dealt to him, excited general commiseration and sympathy even among the ministers of the church. He was humble and unassuming, a quiet, retired student, not one versant in the warfare of church courts. Sir H. Moncrieff, in his *Life of Dr Erskine*, testifies, that he was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time, equally zealous and faithful in his pas-

toral duties, but one who never entered deeply into ecclesiastical business, and who was at no time a political intriguer. His sole crime was, that from a conscientious feeling, he would not be present or take any active part in a violent settlement, and they must be strangely fond of stretches of ecclesiastical power, who will pronounce the deposition of such a man in such circumstances, either praiseworthy or wise.

The sentence of deposition was pronounced on Saturday. On Sabbath, the day following, he preached in the fields at Carnock to his people, from the words of Paul, "For necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." He told his hearers, that though the assembly had deposed him from being a member of the established church, for not doing what he believed it was sinful for him to do, yet, he hoped through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, but Jesus Christ and him crucified,<sup>1</sup> and then went on to illustrate his text, without saying any thing in justification of himself, or in condemnation of the assembly.

He preached in the fields till the month of September, when he removed to the neighbouring town of Dunfermline, where a church had been prepared for him. At the following meeting of assembly, in 1753, an attempt was made by the evangelical party in the church, to have the sentence of deposition rescinded; but, though some of those who voted for his deposition, stung by their own consciences, or moved by sympathy, expressed their regret in very poignant language,<sup>2</sup> yet the motion was lost by a majority of three.

He laboured in Dunfermline for five years, without any ministerial assistance, and during that period, he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper thirteen times, preaching on these occasions commonly nine sermons, besides the exhortations at the tables. When he first determined to celebrate the Lord's Supper in his congregation at Dunfermline, he requested the assistance of some of the evangelical ministers in the church of Scotland; but from fear of the censures of the assembly, they refused him their aid.

The first minister who joined Mr Gillespie in his separation from the church of Scotland, was Mr Boston, son of the well known author of the *Fourfold State*. The parish of Jedburgh becoming vacant, the people were earnestly desirous that Mr Boston, who was minister of Oxnam, and a man of eminently popular talents, might be presented to the vacant charge. No attention, however, was paid to their wishes. The people of Jedburgh took their redress into their own hands, they built a church for themselves, and invited Mr Boston to become their minister; and he resigning his charge at Oxnam, and renouncing his connexion with the church of Scotland, cheerfully accepted their invitation. He was settled among them, 9th December, 1757. He immediately joined Mr Gillespie, to whom he was an important acquisition, from his popular talents, and extensive influence in the south of Scotland. Though associated together, and lending mutual aid, they did not proceed to any acts of government, till by a violent settlement in the parish of Kilconquhar, in Fife, the people were led to erect a place of worship for themselves, in the village of Colinsburgh, to which they invited as their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Collier, a native of the district, who had for some time been settled at Ravenstonedale, in Northumberland, in connexion with the English Dissenters. At his admission to the charge of the congregation formed in Colinsburgh, on the 22d of October, 1761, Mr Gillespie and Mr Boston, with an elder from their respective congregations, first met as a presbytery. In the minute of that meeting, they rehearsed the circumstances connected with their separation from the church of Scotland, and

<sup>1</sup> Dr Enkine's Preface to his *Essay on Temptations*.

<sup>2</sup> Memoir of Gillespie, in the *Quarterly Magazine*, by Dr Stuart.

declared that they had formed themselves into a presbytery for the relief of Christians oppressed in their privileges.

The number of congregations in connection with the Relief rapidly increased. It afforded an asylum for those who desired to have the choice of their own ministers, yet could not accede to the peculiarities of the Secession. Relief from patronage, the assertion of the people's right to choose their own ministers, the extending of their communion to all visible saints, to all sound in the faith and of holy life—these were the distinguishing peculiarities which marked the Relief. They were distinguished from the two bodies of the Secession by their permission of occasional hearing, their disregard of the covenants sworn by our Scottish ancestors, their neglect of the duty of covenanting, and their not restricting their communion to their own Christian societies. These peculiarities provoked the reproaches of the Secession writers of the day. In the progress of time, however, a large section of the Seceders came to be of one mind with their Relief brethren on all matters of doctrine and discipline. In the year 1847 the two bodies were joined together under the designation of the United Presbyterian church. This respectable denomination now (1853) numbers 505 congregations, with an aggregate attendance of 400,000. The Relief and United Secession churches were both opposed to the principle of an Established church; and although the voluntary principle of the United Presbyterian church is not formally avowed in her standards, it is distinctly implied in her position and actions.

It has been said, that Gillespie cooled in his attachment to the Relief, in the latter part of his life, and that he even expressed a wish that his congregation should join the Established church, as a chapel of ease. This last assertion is certainly questionable. It has been contradicted by Mr. Smith, in his *Historical Sketches of the Relief Church*, who, holding a charge in Dunfermline, and living among the personal associates of Gillespie, may be reckoned a competent witness as to what was known of Mr Gillespie's sentiments. He states, that the church and part of the congregation were carried over to the Establishment by the undue influence and representations of Mr Gillespie's brother; and that Mr Gillespie had no difference with his brethren as to the constitution and principles of the Relief church. He never discovered to his people any inclination to be connected again with the Establishment. His disapprobation of the church which deposed him, continued to the end of his days. He was, however, dissatisfied with some of his brethren for the willingness they showed to listen to the application of Mr Perrie (1770), to be received into the body. Perhaps, too, his being thrown into the shade in the conduct of the public affairs of the body, by the active business habits of Mr Bain, after his accession to the Relief, might heighten his chagrin. These circumstances, operating on the tenderness of temper incident to old age and increasing infirmities, seem to have created in his mind a degree of dissatisfaction with some of his brethren; but that he repented of the steps he had taken in the formation of the presbytery of Relief, or that he had changed his sentiments on the terms of communion, on the impropriety of the civil magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs, or similar points, there is no evidence.

The only productions of Gillespie that have been published are, an *Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, published in his lifetime, and a *Treatise on Temptation*, in 1774, after his death, both prefaced by Dr J. Erskine of Edinburgh. The first is designed to prove that God does not now give to any individuals, by impressions, dreams, or otherwise, intimations of facts or future events. He argues the point solidly and sensibly, and with some ingenuity. From his correspondence, it appears that the topic had occupied his thoughts much. He corresponded with Doddridge, Harvey, and president Edwards; and his correspondence with Edwards was published in the *Quarterly*



Magazine, conducted by Dr Stuart, son-in-law to Dr Erskine. Mr Gillespie always prepared carefully for the pulpit. He left in MS. about eight hundred sermons, fairly and distinctly written. He died on the 19th of January, 1774.

GILLESPIE, (REV.) WILLIAM, minister of Kells in Galloway, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, who preceded him in that charge; and was born in the manse of the parish, February 18, 1776. After receiving the rudiments of education at the parish school, he entered the university of Edinburgh, in 1792, and was appointed tutor to Mr Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, bart., in whose company he was introduced to the most cultivated society. While acting in this capacity, and at the same time prosecuting his theological studies, he amused himself by writing verses, and at this time commenced his poem entitled the "Progress of Refinement," which was not completed or published till some years afterwards. Among other clubs and societies of which he was a member, may be instanced the Academy of Physics, which comprehended Brougham, Jeffrey, and other young men of the highest abilities, and of which an account has already been given in our article, *Dr Thomas Brown*. In 1801, having for some time completed his studies, and obtained a license as a preacher, he was ordained helper and successor to his father, with the unanimous approbation of the parish. Soon after, he was invited by his former pupil, Mr Don, to accompany him in making the tour of Europe; and he had actually left home for the purpose, when the project was stopped by intelligence of the renewal of the war with France. In 1805, Mr Gillespie published "the Progress of Refinement, an allegorical poem," intended to describe the advance of society in Britain, from its infancy to maturity, but which met with little success. It was generally confessed that, though Mr Gillespie treated every subject in poetry with much taste and no little feeling, he had not a sufficient draught of inspiration, or that vivid fervour of thought which is so called, to reach the highest rank as a versifier. In 1806, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the full charge of the parish of Kells. For some years afterwards, he seems to have contented himself in a great measure with discharging his duties as a clergyman, only making occasional contributions to periodical works, or communicating information to the Highland Society, of which he was a zealous and useful member. At length, in 1815, he published, in an octavo volume, "Consolation and other Poems," which, however, received only the same limited measure of applause which had already been bestowed upon his *Progress of Refinement*. Mr Gillespie, in July 1825, married Miss Charlotte Hoggan; but being almost immediately after seized with erysipelas, which ended in general inflammation, he died, October 15, in the fiftieth year of his age. As the character of this accomplished person had been of the most amiable kind, his death was very generally and very sincerely mourned: his biographer, Mr Murray, in his *Literary History of Galloway*, states the remarkable fact, that, amidst the many wet eyes which surrounded his grave, "even the sexton—a character not in general noted for soft feelings—when covering the remains of his beloved pastor, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty."

GLASS, JOHN, founder of a sect still known by his name, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Glass, minister of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in the county of Fife, where he was born on the 21st of September, 1695. In the year 1697, his father was translated to the parish of Kinclaven, at which place Mr John Glass received the rudiments of his education. He was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Perth, where he learned the Latin and Greek languages. He completed his studies at the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh, and having been licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Perth, was, in 1719, ordained a minister of the church of Scotland, in the parish of

Tealing, in the neighbourhood of Dundee. Mr Glass had been a diligent student, was deeply impressed with the importance of the ministerial character, and the awful responsibility which attached to it, and was anxious, in no common degree, about the due discharge of the various duties which it involved. In his public services he was highly acceptable; had a singular gift of prayer; and in his sermons, which, according to the fashion of the time, were seldom less than two, sometimes three, hours in length, he attracted and kept up the unwearied attention of crowded audiences. His fame as a preacher, of course, soon spread abroad, and his sacramental occasions attracted vast crowds from distant quarters; the usual concomitant, in those days, of popularity. But it was not public services alone that absorbed his attention; the more private duties of his station were equally attended to. Even so early as 1725, only two years after his settlement, he had formed within his parish a little society of persons, whom he found to be particularly under serious impressions, and with whom he cultivated a more intimate intercourse, though no part of his charge was neglected. It is probable, however, that his peculiar notions of the constitution of a Christian church were by this time beginning to be developed, and this intercourse with a detached and particular part of his charge, must have tended to hasten the process. Breach of covenant engagements, from a combination of circumstances, was at this time very generally insisted on in the ministrations of the Scottish clergy. The binding obligation of both the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, being universally admitted, Mr Glass began to preach against these covenants, as incompatible with the nature of the gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience. A paper written by him at this time to the above effect excited a very great sensation throughout the country, and called forth some of the ablest defences of these famous deeds that have yet appeared. In the above paper, Mr Glass did not state himself as formally an enemy to the covenants, but only as an inquirer, wishing further light and information respecting them; yet it was evident to every intelligent person that he was no longer a Presbyterian. He was forthwith summoned before the church courts; and refusing to sign the formula, and some passages of the Confession of Faith, was, by the synod of Angus and Mearns, deposed from his office, on the 12th of April, 1728.

The same year he published his "King of Martyrs," in which he embodied his views more fully matured. This book had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served for a general storehouse, whence Mr Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments. On his deposition, Mr Glass removed from Tealing to Dundee, where, several persons joining him, he formed the first church of the kind in Scotland. This small body was not without its share of the obloquy to which Independency had long been exposed in Scotland, nor were the members without their fears respecting the practicability of the scheme, being doubtful of a sufficiency of gifts in the lay brethren. When they came to the proof, however, they were agreeably disappointed; and wherever they had occasion to form churches, which was in a short time in a great many places, appear to have found no lack of qualified persons. In the year 1733, Mr Glass removed from Dundee to Perth, where he erected a small meeting-house, which was thought great presumption, especially as the handful of people that attended arrogated to themselves the name of a church. Attempts were even made to eject them forcibly from the town, and a zealous lady beholding Mr Glass in the street, was heard to exclaim, "why do they not rive [tear] him in pieces!" In the year 1739, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the same that

gave positive orders to the commission to proceed against the Seceders with the censures of the church, took off, by a very curious act, the sentence of deposition that had been passed against Mr Glass. In this act he is stated to hold some peculiar views, which the Assembly do not think inconsistent with his being a minister. They accordingly restored him to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, but declared at the same time, he was not to be considered a minister of the Established church of Scotland, or capable of being called and settled therein, till he should renounce these peculiar views. This act, even among the anomalous acts of church courts, was certainly a very strange one. If Mr Glass, however, was satisfied on scriptural grounds that he was a minister of Christ, it could make little difference, whether he belonged to the church of Scotland or not. At the time of his deposition, Mr Glass had a large family, and when he was deprived of his stipend, had no visible means of supporting it. This, taken in connection with the persecutions of another kind which he was made to endure, affords sufficient evidence, whatever any may think of his principles, that he was sincere and conscientious in their profession. In this sacrifice of worldly interests, it is pleasing to learn that he had the cheerful concurrence of his excellent wife, Catharine Black, a daughter of the Rev. Mr Black of Perth. This worthy woman, persuaded that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God, encouraged him in his darkest moments to perseverance, and to a cheerful trust in Divine providence, even for such things as might be needful for this present frail and transitory life; nor was his confidence in vain. In the death of their children (fifteen in number, all of whom he survived), their faith and patience were also severely tried, especially in the case of such of them as had arrived at the years of maturity. One of his sons was the occasion of much trouble to him, and left his house a disobedient son. Like the prodigal in the parable, however, he repented in his affliction, and returned a very different person. His son Thomas lived to become a respectable bookseller in Dundee, where he was settled in life, and was pastor to the congregation which his father had left in that place; but he was cut off in the prime of life by a fever. Another of his sons, George, was a sea-captain, and known as the author of the *History of the Canary Islands*, published by Dodsley, in 1764. He afterwards went out for a London company to attempt forming a settlement on the coast of Africa, where he was seized by the Spaniards, and kept a prisoner for several years. The men whom he had conducted to Africa were in the meantime murdered, and his ship plundered. Having, by a pencil note inclosed in a loaf of bread, found means to make his case known to the British consul, the government interfered, and he was set at liberty. He took his passage with his wife and daughter for London, intending to revisit his native country. The ship in which he embarked was unfortunately loaded with specie, which, awakening the cupidity of a part of the crew, they conspired to murder the captain and secure the vessel. Captain Glass, hearing the disturbance on deck when the mutiny broke out, drew his sword, and hastening to the rescue, was stabbed in the back by one of the conspirators, who had been lurking below. Mrs Glass and her daughter clung to one another imploring mercy, but were thrown overboard locked in each other's arms. The murderers landed on the coast of Ireland, where they unshipped the money chests, which they hid in the sands, and went to an ale-house to refresh themselves. Here they were taken up on suspicion, confessed the atrocious crime, and were subsequently executed. Mr Glass and his friends in Perth had been apprised by letter that his son was on his voyage home, and were in daily expectation of his arrival, when intelligence of the fate of the ship and her crew reached Perth in a newspaper. Mr Glass sustained the shock with his wonted resignation and equanimity. He died in 1773, aged 78. The doctrines and practices of his

sect were afterwards modified by his son-in-law, Mr Robert Sandoman, author of the letters on Theron and Aspasio, and from whom the members of the body are sometimes denominated Sandemanians.

GLENNIE, JAMES, a distinguished geometrician, a native of Fife, was born in 1750. His father was an officer in the army, and saw much severe service. Glennie received the rudiments of his education at a parochial school, and was afterwards removed to the university of St Andrew, where he made considerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, but early discovered a strong and peculiar propensity to the sciences in general, but more particularly to geometry, a branch which he pursued with such zeal and success as to carry off two successive prizes in the mathematical class, when he was only 19 years of age. Glennie was originally intended for the church, and with this view, attended the divinity class, where he also distinguished himself, becoming a keen polemic and theologian, and an acute and able disputant. Whether, however, from his finding a difficulty in obtaining a church, or from the impulse of his own disposition, he abandoned the idea of entering into holy orders, and chose rather to seek his fortune in the army. Through the interest of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university of St Andrews and of the professors of that university, to whom Glennie's talents had strongly recommended him, he obtained a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which his geometrical knowledge eminently fitted him. On the breaking out of the American war, in 1775, Glennie embarked for that country with the troops sent out by the mother country to co-operate with those already there, in the suppression of the insurgents. On his arrival, now a lieutenant of artillery, he was placed under the command of general St Leger; his reputation however, as a promising officer and skilful engineer, was already so great, that he was left in full command of his own particular department. Throughout the whole campaign which followed, he conducted all his operations with such judgment and intrepidity, as to attract the notice of the marquis of Townshend, who, without solicitation or any interest whatever being made, transferred Glennie to the engineers; and this flattering circumstance, together with the reasons annexed, were certified in the London Gazette. In 1779, he was further gratified by being nominated one of the thirty practitioner engineers, and appointed second, and soon after first lieutenant. So active and industrious were Glennie's habits, that even while engaged in the arduous and dangerous duties of his profession in America, he wrote a number of important papers on abstruse subjects. These he transmitted to the Royal Society, where they were read and deemed so valuable, as to procure him the honour of being elected a member, and that, as in the case of the celebrated Dr Franklin, without fees, and even without his knowledge.

On his return to England, Mr Glennie married Miss Mary Anne Locke, daughter of the store-keeper at Plymouth.

The good fortune, however, which had hitherto attended Glennie, and the prosperous career which apparently lay still before him, were now about to close in darkness and disappointment. The first blow to Glennie's hopes of future promotion, proceeded from a circumstance sufficiently remarkable in itself. The duke of Richmond, who was at the time of Glennie's return from America, master general of the Board of Ordnance, in which he had displaced Glennie's early patron the marquis of Townshend, had conceived the absurd idea of fortifying all our naval arsenals, and of forming lines of defence on the coast, instead of increasing the navy, and trusting to that arm for protection against a foreign enemy. The Duke was much opposed on this point in parliament; but as it was a favourite idea, he persevered, and supported as he was

by the influence and eloquence of Pitt, would have carried the measure, but for the skill and talent of a subaltern of artillery ; and that subaltern, who coped successfully with a minister of state on a great national question, was Glennie.

The duke of Richmond, aware of Glennie's talents in the sciences of gunnery and fortification, frequently and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his approbation of his plans ; with more candour than wisdom, however, he not only steadfastly withheld this approbation, but unhesitatingly declared them to be absurd and impracticable. Glennie's early patron, the marquis of Townshend, knowing the former's opinion of the duke of Richmond's plans, invited him to his residence, where he detained him until he had composed, which he did at the marquis's request, a pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet, which was written with great ability and discovered a profound knowledge of the matter of which it treated, was immediately published, and produced a prodigious effect. It instantly opened the eyes of the public to the absurdity of the minister's ideas : his projects were overturned, and the country was saved ; but Glennie was ruined.

In this celebrated pamphlet, which is simply entitled "A Short Essay," it was demonstrated that extensive lines produce prolonged weakness, not strength, and showed that troops are much more formidable as an active and movable force, than as an inert body, cooped up in fortifications. It showed further, that the sum (calculated at 40 or 50 millions) which should be required to carry the duke's plans into effect, was more than would be necessary to build a new and complete fleet, superior to that of any power on earth. Besides all this, it was shown, that it would require 22,000 soldiers for the intended fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth alone.

Glennie, perceiving that all hopes of further promotion were now at an end, resigned his commission and emigrated to British America with his wife and children. Here he purchased a tract of land, and soon afterwards became a contractor for ship timber and masts for government. The speculation failed, and both Glennie himself, and a partner, a wealthy man who had joined him in it, were ruined. Driven back to England, but now, as many years had elapsed, forgotten and without friends, Glennie applied to the earl of Chatham, who recognizing his merits, but unable to do more for him, retained rather than employed him as "engineer extraordinary." Soon after, however, he procured Glennie the appointment of instructor to the East India Company's young artillery officers, with salary and emoluments amounting to £400 per annum. Glennie's good fortune was, however, again but of short duration. He was summoned as an evidence on some points in the celebrated trial of the duke of York and Mrs Clarke ; his evidence was unfavourable to the duke ; the consequence was, that he soon afterwards received an official letter from the board of directors, dispensing with his services.

In 1812, Glennie, now in the 62d year of his age, went out to Copenhagen at the request of a gentleman who then held a seat in parliament, to negotiate the purchase of a certain plantation. Glennie, having set out on his mission without coming to any explicit terms with his employer, his claim for compensation on his return was disputed, and referred to arbitration ; but the referees could not agree, and the matter therefore was never adjusted. Glennie, now in an exceedingly destitute condition, without friends who could assist him, his health destroyed, and himself far advanced in life, made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a few mathematical pupils, and finally died of apoplexy on the 23d November, 1817, in the 67th year of his age. His remains were interred in the church-yard of St Martin's in the Fields.

Amongst other proofs of Glennie's geometrical knowledge is to be found a solution of Dr Matthew Stewart's "42d proposition on 39th theorem," which

had remained unsolved and had puzzled the learned for 65 years; and also a demonstration of the impossibility of "Squaring the circle," a question which has long excited public curiosity, and which it is said engaged the attention and eluded the research of the great Newton.

GOODAL, WALTER, well known as an historical antiquary, was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer in Banffshire, and was born about the year 1706. In 1723, he was entered as a student in King's college, Aberdeen, but did not continue long enough to take a degree. In 1730, he obtained employment in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, under the famous Thomas Ruddiman, who was a native of the same district, and perhaps patronized him on account of some local recommendations. He assisted Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the library, which was published in 1742. When Ruddiman was succeeded by David Hume, Goodal continued to act as sub-librarian, probably upon a very small salary. Like both of his successive superiors, he was a tory and a Jacobite, but, it would appear, of a far more ardent character than either of them. Being, almost as a matter of course, a believer in the innocence of queen Mary, he contemplated writing her life, but afterwards limited his design to a publication entitled "An examination of the letters said to be written by Mary to James earl of Bothwell," which appeared in 1754. In this work, says Mr George Chalmers, he could have done more, if he had had less prejudice and more coolness. Hume had become librarian two years before this period; but "the chief duty," we are informed, "fell upon Walter, or, as he good-naturedly permitted himself to be called, *Watty* Goodal. One day, while Goodal was composing his treatise concerning queen Mary, he became drowsy, and laying down his head upon his manuscripts, in that posture fell asleep. Hume entering the library, and finding the controversialist in that position, stepped softly up to him, and laying his mouth to Watty's ear, roared out with the voice of a Stentor, that queen Mary was a whore, and had murdered her husband. Watty, not knowing whether it was a dream or a real adventure, or whether the voice proceeded from a ghost or living creature, started up, and before he was awake or his eyes well opened, he sprang upon Hume, and seizing him by the throat, pushed him to the further end of the library, exclaiming all the while that he was some base presbyterian parson, who was come to murder the character of queen Mary as his predecessors had contributed to murder her person. Hume used to tell this story with much glee, and Watty acknowledged the truth of it with much frankness."

In 1753, Mr Goodal acted as editor of a new edition of the work called Crawford's Memoirs, which he is generally blamed for not having corrected or purified from the vitiations of its author. In 1754, he published an edition, with emendatory notes, of Scott of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, and wrote a preface and life to Sir James Balfour's *Practicks*. He contributed also to Keilh's catalogue of Scottish bishops, and published an edition of Fordun's "*Scotichronicon*," with a Latin introduction, of which an English version was given to the world in 1769. Goodal died July 28, 1766, in very indigent circumstances, which Mr Chalmers attributes to habits of intemperance. The following extract from the minutes of the faculty of advocates, throws a melancholy light upon the subject, and is fully entitled to a place in Mr D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*:—

"A petition was presented in name of Mary Goodal, only daughter of the deceased Mr Walter Goodal, late deputy-keeper of the Advocates' Library, representing that the petitioner's father died the 28th last month; that by reason of some accidental misfortunes happening in his affairs, any small pieces of household furniture or other movables he hath left behind, will scarcely defray

the expense of his funeral; that if there is any overplus, [it] will be attached by his creditors; that she is in the most indigent circumstances, and without friends to give her any assistance; that she proposes to go to the north country, where she hath some relations, in order to try if she can be put upon any way of gaining her bread; that she would not be permitted to leave the town until she should discharge some small debts that she was by necessity obliged to contract; that, besides, she was in such want of clothes and other necessaries, that she can scarcely appear in the streets; and that, in her most distressed situation, she hath presumed to make this humble application to the honourable the Dean and Faculty of Advocates, praying that they would be pleased to order her such a sum from their fund as they shall judge her necessities require.

"The Dean and Faculty, taking this clamant case under their consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the petitioner should have some allowance out of their fund." The sum given was ten pounds.

GORDON, ALEXANDER, author of various learned and useful antiquarian works, is one of the numerous subjects for the present publication, of whom nothing is known except their birth in *Scotland*, and their transactions in public life out of it. He was a well-educated man, possessing, what was not in his time common among the Scottish literati, an intimate knowledge of the Greek language. In early life, he travelled through France, and other parts of the continent, and spent some years in Italy. His first publication referred to the antiquities of his native country, which he seems to have explored with minute and pains-taking fidelity. The work appeared in 1736, under the title of "*Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most parts of the counties of Scotland, in two parts, with sixty-six copper-plates*," folio: a supplement, published in 1739, was entitled, "*Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale, containing several dissertations on, and descriptions of Roman antiquities discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary*." These were among the first efforts in what may be called pure antiquities which were made in Scotland. The *Itinerary* was considered so valuable a work, that it was translated into Latin, and published in Holland in 1731, (the Supplement included,) for the use of general scholars throughout Europe. In 1729, Mr Gordon published "*The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cesar Borgia, comprehending the wars in the reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII, kings of France, and the chief transactions and revolutions in Italy from 1493 to 1516, with an appendix of original pieces referred to in the work*." This work was also in folio. In 1730, he published in octavo, "*A Complete History of Ancient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the architecture of these buildings, and in particular that of Verona; by the marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian*." In 1736, Mr Gordon was appointed secretary to the Society for the encouragement of learning, with an annual salary of fifty pounds; and also secretary to the Antiquarian Society: the former place he resigned in 1739, and the latter in 1741. About the same time, he officiated as secretary to the Egyptian Club, an association of learned individuals who had visited Egypt, comprising lord Sandwich, Dr Shaw, Dr Pococke, and others of nearly equal distinction. Mr Gordon published two other works—"An Essay towards explaining the hieroglyphical figures on the coffin of the ancient mummy belonging to captain William Lethieullier," 1737, and "Twenty-five plates of all the Egyptian mummies and other Egyptian antiquities in England," about 1739—both in folio.

Mr Gordon was destined, after doing so much to explain the antiquities of the old world, to the uncongenial fate of spending his last years in the new,

where there are no ancient remains whatever. He was induced in 1741, to accompany governor Glen to Carolina in North America, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, particularly that of register of the province. He died about 1750, leaving a valuable estate to his family.

GORDON, GORDON, commonly called lord George Gordon, one of the most remarkable Scotsmen who have flourished in modern political history, was the third son of Cosmo George, third duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William, earl of Aberdeen. He was born in Upper Brook Street, London, in Dec. 1750, and was baptized in Jan., 1752; George II. standing as his sponsor or god-father. Of his boyhood or education, we know little or nothing; nor does there appear to have supervened any peculiar trait of conduct, or bias of disposition, during his juvenile years, to distinguish him from his compeers, or forebode the singular eccentricity and erratic waywardness of his future career. At a very tender age he entered the navy, in which he arrived, by due gradation, at the rank of lieutenant. The reason of his afterwards abandoning the naval profession, was a pretended disappointment at non-promotion in the service, while it was, in fact, a mere job effected by some of the opposition members to win him to their ranks, as will afterwards be seen. In the year 1772, being then scarcely twenty years of age, he went to reside in Inverness-shire, with the view of opposing general Fraser of Lovat, as member for the county, at the next general election, which would, of necessity, take place in two years thereafter at farthest. This was indeed bearding the lion in his den, and appeared about as Quixotic an undertaking, as that of displacing one of the chieftain's native mountains. Such, however, were his ingratiating qualities, the frankness of his manners, the affability of his address, and his happy knack of accommodating himself to the humours of all classes, that, when the day of election drew nigh, and the candidates began to number their strength, Lovat found, to his unutterable confusion and vexation, that his beardless competitor had actually succeeded in securing a majority of votes! Nor could the most distant imputations of bribery or undue influence be charged upon the young political aspirant. All was the result of his winning address and popular manners, superadded to his handsome countenance, which is said to have been of almost feminine beauty and delicacy. He played on the bagpipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic and wore the philabeg, where these were in fashion. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with patience and deference to the garrulous sermonizing of old age. And, finally, gave a splendid ball to the gentry at Inverness,—one remarkable incident concerning which, was his hiring a ship, and bringing from the isle of Skye the family of the M'Leods, consisting of *fifteen* young ladies—the pride and admiration of the north. It was not to be tolerated, however, that the great feudal chieftain should thus be thrust from his hereditary political possession by a mere stripling. Upon an application to the duke, lord George's eldest brother, a compromise was agreed on, by which it was settled, that upon lord George's relinquishing Inverness-shire, general Fraser should purchase a seat for him in an English borough; and he was accordingly returned for Ludgershall, the property of lord Melbourne, at the election of 1774.

It would appear, that for some time after taking his seat, lord George voted with the ministry of the day. He soon, however, and mainly, it is affirmed, by the influence of his sister-in-law, the celebrated duchess of Gordon, became a convert to the principles of the opposition; and it was not long ere, at the instigation of governor Johnstone and Mr Burke, he fairly broke with the ministry, upon their refusal to comply with a most unreasonable demand for promotion over the heads of older and abler officers, which the gentlemen just named had



incited him to make. From this time forward, he became a zealous opponent of government, especially as regarded their policy towards America, where discontents against their measures were becoming rife and loud. It was not, however, until the session of 1776 that he stood forth as a public speaker, when he commenced his career by a furious attack on ministers, whom he accused of an infamous attempt to bribe him over to their side by the offer of a sinecure of £1000 a year. Whether this charge was true or false, certain it is that ministers felt the effects of the imputation so severely, reiterated and commented on as it was in the withering eloquence of Fox, Burke, and others, that an attempt was made to induce him to cede his seat in parliament, in favour of the famous Irish orator, Henry Flood, by the offer of the place of vice-admiral of Scotland, then vacant by the resignation of the duke of Queensberry. Notwithstanding that lord George's fortune was then scarcely £700 per annum, he had the fortitude to resist the proffered bait, and seemed determined, like Andrew Marvel, to prefer dining for three days running on a single joint, rather than sacrifice his independence by the acceptance of court-favour. His lordship, indeed, soon began to estrange himself from both parties in the house, and to assume a position then entirely new in parliamentary tactics, and somewhat parallel to the course chalked out for themselves by a few of our patriots in the house of commons at a recent period. Disclaiming all connexion with either whigs or tories, he avowed himself as being devoted solely to the cause of the people. Continuing to represent the borough of Ludgershall, he persevered in animadverting with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings on both sides of the house, and became so marked, that it was usual at that time to say, that "there were three parties in parliament—the ministry, the opposition, and lord George Gordon."

A bill had been brought into parliament, in the session of 1778, by Sir George Saville, who is described by a writer of the whig party as one of the most upright men which perhaps any age or country ever produced, to relieve the Roman catholic subjects of England from some of the penalties they were subject to, by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth year of King William III.,—an act supposed by many to have originated in faction, and which at all events, from many important changes since the time of its enactment, had become unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

On the passing of this bill, which required a test of fidelity from the parties who claimed its protection, many persons of that religion, and of the first families and fortunes in the kingdom, came forward with the most zealous professions of attachment to the government; so that the good effects of the indulgence were immediately felt, and hardly a murmur from any quarter was heard. This act of Sir George Saville did not extend to Scotland; but in the next winter, a proposition was made by several individuals to revise the penal laws in force against the catholics in that kingdom also: at least a report prevailed of such an intention. The people in general, having still a keen recollection of the religious dissensions of the preceding century, were strongly excited by this rumour, and formed numerous associations throughout the country, for the purpose of resisting, by petition, any remission of the catholic penalties. In this movement, they were countenanced generally by the less moderate section of the national clergy, and, perhaps, the public fervour was raised by no circumstance so much as by the indifference with which the majority of that body had treated the subject in the General Assembly of 1778, when the idea of a prospective declaration against the measure, was coldly negatived. The proceedings in Scotland, and some inflammatory pamphlets, published about the same time, gradually awakened the public mind in England, or at least the less informed part

of it, to a conviction of the danger of Sir George Saville's act, and a powerful society was formed at London, under the name of the "Protestant Association," for endeavouring to procure the repeal of the bill. Large subscriptions were raised in different parts of the kingdom, a secretary was publicly chosen, and correspondences set on foot between the different societies in England and Scotland. To crown all, in November, 1779, lord George Gordon, M. P., was unanimously invited to become president of the association, of which situation he accepted. One thing ought here to be observed, in judging of the sincerity of this nobleman in the part he took in the subsequent public proceedings on this subject, both in and out of parliament, that he offered no opposition whatever to the passing of Sir George Saville's repeal act.

In detailing the fearful events which ensued both in England and Scotland, in consequence of this struggle of parties, it is necessary that some regard be had to chronological order; and we must, therefore, first of all turn our attention to the posture of affairs in our own country.

Soon after the passing of the tolerating act in favour of the English and Irish Catholics, those of that creed in Scotland, encouraged, as we have said, by demonstrations in their favour in various influential quarters, prepared a petition to parliament, praying for the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges which had been extended to their more fortunate brethren. At this juncture an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Edinburgh, which caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Its effects were first developed by the proceedings in the provincial synods, by almost all of which (excepting that of Lothian and Tweeddale) violent and angry resolutions were passed against the papists, and the firmest determination expressed to oppose their petition. These resolutions being published in the newspapers, soon propagated the ferment and fanned the popular excitement into a blaze. Numerous societies were organized at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, who severally passed resolutions to the same effect. That at Edinburgh, together with all the incorporations of the city, excepting the surgeons, the merchant company, and the society of candlemakers, petitioned the town council early in Jan. 1779, to oppose the bill, which was agreed to; and the members for the city and county were instructed accordingly. Similar proceedings also took place at Glasgow.

The populace, however, were far too highly irritated to await patiently the issue of these decided measures, and on the 2d of February their fury burst out at Edinburgh with uncontrollable violence. Incendiary letters had previously been distributed in the streets, calling upon the people to meet at the foot of Leith Wynd on the above day, "to pull down that pillar of popery lately erected there"—alluding to a house, occupied, along with other families, by a Roman catholic bishop, and which was supposed to contain a catholic place of worship. A large mob accordingly assembled, and in spite of the exertions of the magistrates, backed by a regiment of fencibles, the house was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The house of another popish clergyman in Blackfriars' Wynd was completely gutted. The catholics in all the other parts of the town were indiscriminately abused, and their houses pillaged. Nor against these alone was the violence of the mob directed. Every liberal protestant, known to favour toleration towards the catholics, became equally the objects of popular fury. Amongst these were the celebrated professor Robertson, and Mr Crobie, an eminent advocate, whose houses were attacked, and which, but for the timely interference of the military, would doubtless, like the rest, have been fired and raised to the ground. Seeing no likelihood of a termination to the tumults, the provost and magistrates, after several days' feeble and ineffectual efforts to re-

store order, at length issued a proclamation of a somewhat singular description, *assuring* the people that *no repeal of the statutes against papists should take place*, and attributing the riots solely to the "fears and distressed minds of well meaning people." This announcement, nevertheless, had the effect of partially restoring quiet. The example of Edinburgh was in part copied in Glasgow; but the disturbances there, owing to the exertions and influence of the principal merchants and others, were soon got under;—the provost and magistrates, finding it necessary, however, to issue a notice similar to that of their civic brethren at Edinburgh. But notwithstanding that these magisterial assurances were corroborated by a letter to the same effect, from lord Weymouth, home secretary, dated 12th February, addressed to the lord justice clerk, the excitement throughout the country every day increased, instead of abating. At no period of our history, unless, perhaps, during the political crisis in 1831-32, has either branch of the legislature been addressed or spoken of in language half so daring, menacing, or contemptuous. The resolutions passed by the heritors and heads of families in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, may vie with the most maledictory philippics poured forth on the heads of the "Boroughmongers" in modern days. To such a height did this anti-catholic feeling at last rise, that the papists deemed it at last prudent to memorialize parliament on the subject, and pray for protection to their lives and property, as well as redress for what they had already suffered. This petition was laid before the house by Mr Burke on the 18th of March, and it was in the debate which thereupon ensued, that we first find lord George Gordon standing forth in parliament as the champion of the protestant interests. In the following August, after the rising of the session, lord George paid a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with extraordinary attention, and unanimously chosen president of the "committee of correspondence for the protestant interest." We ought to have mentioned that, in the month of April, the sum of £1600 had been adjudged by arbitration to the catholics in compensation of their loss in the city of Edinburgh, which amount was paid from the city's funds.

The remarkable respect and honours which lord George experienced from the protestant societies in Scotland, appear to have operated like quicksilver in his veins. He forthwith devoted himself heart and hand to their cause; and on his return to London he was, as we have already mentioned, chosen president of the formidable Protestant Association.

Encouraged by the deference paid by government to the wishes of the Scottish protestants, the members of the London association entertained the most sanguine hopes of getting a repeal of the late toleration act for England. The most strenuous exertions by advertisement and otherwise were therefore made to swell the numbers of the society; meetings were called, and resolutions passed, to petition the house of commons for an abrogation of the obnoxious act.

After various desultory motions in parliament, which it is unnecessary to specify, lord George, on the 5th of May, presented a petition from Plymouth, praying for a repeal of Sir G. Saville's act. Finding, however, the government and legislature little disposed to pay any attention to these applications, the members of the association resolved upon adopting more active and unequivocal measures to accomplish their object. A meeting was accordingly held in Coach-maker's Hall, on the evening of the 29th May—at which lord George, who was in the chair, addressed them in a long and inflammatory harangue upon the wicked designs of the papists, the fearful increase of popery in the kingdom, in consequence of the late act—and the measures indispensably necessary to be adopted for the salvation of protestantism. He said their only

resource was to go in a body to the house of commons, and express their determination to protect their religious privileges with their lives; that for his part, he would run all hazards with "the people," and if they were too lukewarm to do the like with him, they might choose another leader. This speech was received with tremendous acclamations; and resolutions were passed, that the whole protestant association should assemble in St George's fields, on the following Friday, (June 2d,) to accompany his lordship to the house of commons, where he was to present the protestant petition, and that they should march to the house in four divisions, and by different routes. His lordship also added, that unless 20,000 people, each decked with a blue cockade, assembled—he would not present the petition. Next evening, lord George gave notice in the house of commons, of his intention of presenting the petition on the appointed day, as also of the proposed processions of the association; and it is a remarkable fact, that although by the act of 1661, such a proceeding was declared quite illegal, not the slightest intimation was given to him by the ministry, to that effect.

On the day appointed, an immense concourse of people, not less it was computed than 100,000, assembled in St George's fields. Lord George, arrived about twelve o'clock, and after haranguing them for a considerable time, directed them how they were to march. One party, accordingly, proceeded round by London bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third accompanied their president over Westminster bridge. The petition, to which the subscriptions of the petitioners were appended, on an immense number of rolls of parchment, was borne before the latter body. On their assembling at the two houses of parliament, which they completely surrounded, they announced their presence by a general shout, and it was not long ere the more unruly of them began to exercise the power they now felt themselves to possess, by abusing and maltreating the members of both houses, as they severally arrived. At the door of the house of lords, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Litchfield and Lincoln, the duke of Northumberland, lords Bathurst, Mansfield, Townshend, Hillsborough, Stormont, Dudley, and many others, were all more or less abused, both in character and person. Lord Boston, in particular, was so long in the hands of the mob, that it was at one time proposed that the house should go out in a body to his rescue. He entered at last, unwigged, and with his clothes almost torn from his person.

In the meantime, the rioters had got complete possession of the lobby of the house of commons, the doors of which they repeatedly tried to force open; and a scene of confusion, indignation, and uproar ensued in the house, almost rivaling that which was passing out of doors. Lord George, on first entering the house, had a blue cockade in his hat, but upon this being commented upon as a signal of riot, he drew it out. The greatest part of the day was consumed in debates (almost inaudible from the increasing roar of the multitude without,) relative to the fearful aspect of affairs; but something like order being at last obtained, lord George introduced the subject of the protestant petition, which, he stated, was signed by 120,000 protestants, and moved that it be immediately brought up. Leave being given, he next moved that it be forthwith taken into consideration. This informal and unprecedented proposition, was, of course, resisted; but lord George, nevertheless, declared his determination of dividing the house on the subject, and a desultory but violent debate ensued, which was terminated by the motion being negatived by 192 to 9. During the course of the discussion, the riot without became every moment more alarming, and lord George was repeatedly called upon to disperse his followers; but his manner of addressing the latter, which he did from the top of the gallery

stairs, leaves it doubtful whether his intention was to quiet or irritate them still farther. He informed them, from time to time, of the progress of the debate, and mentioned by name (certainly, to put the best construction upon it, an extremely thoughtless proceeding,) those members who opposed the immediate consideration of the petition; saying,—“Mr so and so is now speaking against you.”—He told them that it was proposed to adjourn the question to the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; that “parliament might be prorogued before that, and there would be an end of the affair.” During his harangues, several members of the house warmly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but to no purpose. General Grant attempted to draw him back, begging him “for God’s sake not to lead these poor deluded people into danger;” and colonel Gordon, (or, as other authorities say, colonel Murray, uncle to the duke of Athol,) a near relative of his lordship’s, demanded of him—“Do you intend, my lord George, to bring your rascally adherents into the house of commons? If you do, the first man that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his body, but *yours*.”—In this state did matters continue until about nine o’clock at night, when a troop of horse and infantry arrived. Lord George then advised the mob to disperse quietly, observing “that now their gracious king was made aware of the wishes and determination of his subjects, he would no doubt compel his ministers to comply with their demands.” Those who attended from purely religious motives, numbering, it is said, not more than 600 or 700, immediately departed peaceably, first giving the magistrates and soldiers three cheers. The remainder also retired about 11 o’clock, after the adjournment of the house; but soon began to display the villanous designs which had congregated them. Dividing themselves into two bodies, one proceeded to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke street, Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, the other to that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick street, Golden square, both of which edifices they completely gutted, burning the furniture, ornaments, &c., in heaps on the public street. A party of guards arrived, but after the mischief was over, who succeeded in capturing thirteen of the rioters. In concluding our account of this eventful day’s proceedings, we must mention, that great negligence was charged, and seemingly not without reason, against government as well as the magistracy, for the absence of every thing like preparation for preserving the peace,—aware, as they perfectly were, of the intended multitudinous procession.

Next day (Saturday) passed over without any disturbance; but this quiescence proved only a “lull before the storm.” In the afternoon of Sunday, an immense multitude met simultaneously, and evidently by previous concert, in Moorfields, and raising the slogan of “No Popery,” “Down with the Papists,” &c., immediately attacked and utterly demolished the catholic chapel, burning the altar, images, pictures, &c., in the open street. Here again, the guards arrived (to use an Iricism) in time to be too late; and encouraged by this circumstance, as well as by the lenient deportment of the military, who up to this time, had refrained from the use of either sabre or fire-arms, the rioters hourly grew more daring and outrageous. They renewed their violence early on Monday, (the king’s birth-day,) by destroying a school-house and three dwelling houses, with a valuable library, belonging to papists, in Rope-maker’s Alley. Separating their force into several detachments, they proceeded into various quarters of the city at once,—thus distracting the attention of the authorities, who appeared to be paralyzed by the fearful ongoing around them—lost all self-possession, and of course, their efficiency in checking the career of the rioters. The houses of Sir George Saville and several other public and private gentlemen, together with several popish chapels, quickly fell a prey to pillage and

flame. The violence of the mob also received an accession of fury this day from two circumstances—viz. a proclamation offering a reward of £500, for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the Bavarian and Sardinian chapels; and the public committal to Newgate of three of the supposed ringleaders on those occasions.

It must here be recorded, that early on the same morning (Monday 5th June,) the Protestant Association distributed a circular, disclaiming all connexion with the rioters, and earnestly counselling all good protestants to maintain peace and good order.

Tuesday the 6th, being the day appointed for the consideration of the protestant petition, a multitude not less numerous than that of the previous Friday, assembled round both houses of parliament, coming in however, not in one body, but in small parties. A disposition to outrage soon manifested itself, and lord Sandwich, who fell into their hands, with difficulty escaped with life, by the aid of the military, his carriage being smashed to pieces. The house of peers, after several of their lordships had commented on the unprecedented circumstances in which they were placed, unanimously decided on the absurdity of transacting business, while in a state of duress and restraint, and soon broke up, after adjourning proceedings till the Thursday following. In the house of commons, after several remarks similar to those in the upper house, and the passing of various resolutions to the same effect, a violent attack was made upon ministers by Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and others of the opposition, on account of the relaxed state of the police, which had left the legislature itself at the mercy of a reckless mob. Lord George Gordon said, if the house would appoint a day for the discussion of the petition, and to do it to the satisfaction of the people, he had no doubt they would quietly disperse. Colonel Herbert, remarked that although lord George disclaimed all connexion with the rioters, it was strange that he came into the house with their ensign of insurrection in his hat, (a blue cockade,) upon which his lordship pulled it out. A committee was then appointed "to inquire into the causes of the riot, &c.," and the house adjourned to Thursday. Upon the breaking up of the house, lord George addressed the multitude, told them what had been done, and advised them to disperse quietly. In return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph through the town.

In the meantime, a furious attack had been made on the residence of lord North, in Downing Street, which was only saved from destruction by the interposition of the military. In the evening, the house of justice Hyde was surrounded, sacked, and all the furniture, pictures, books, &c., burned before his door. The rioters then directed their steps towards Newgate, for the purpose of releasing their companions in outrage, who were there confined. On arriving at the gates, they demanded admittance; which being refused by Mr Akerman, the governor, they forthwith proceeded to break his windows, and to batter in the doors of the prison with pick-axes and sledge-hammers. Flambeaus and other firebrands being procured, these were thrown into the governor's house, which, along with the chapel, and other parts of the prison, was speedily in flames. The prison doors were also soon consumed, and the mob rushing in, set all the prisoners, to the number of 300, (amongst whom were several under sentence of death,) at liberty. One most remarkable circumstance attending this daring proceeding must not be passed over in silence,—that from a prison thus enveloped in flames, and in the midst of a scene of such uproar and confusion, such a number of prisoners, many of them shut in cells to which access was at all times most intricate and difficult, could escape without the loss of a single life, or even the fracture of a limb! But what will appear, perhaps,

scarcely less astonishing, is the fact, that within a very few days, almost the whole of the individuals thus unexpectedly liberated were recaptured, and lodged either in their old or more secure quarters.

Still more emboldened by this reinforcement of desperate confederates, the rioters proceeded in different detachments to the houses of justice Cox and Sir John Fielding, as also to the public office in Bow Street, and the new prison, Clerkenwell; all of which they broke in upon and gutted, liberating the prisoners in the latter places, and thereby gaining fresh numbers and strength. But the most daring act of all, was their attacking the splendid mansion of lord chief justice Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken open the doors and windows, they proceeded, as was their custom, to fling all the rich and costly furniture into the street, where it was piled into heaps and burned, amid the most exulting yells. The library, consisting of many thousands of volumes, rare MSS., title-deeds, &c., together with a splendid assortment of pictures—all were remorselessly destroyed. And all this passed, too, in the presence of between 200 and 300 soldiers, and under the eye of the lord chief justice himself, who calmly permitted this destruction of his property, rather than expose the wretched criminals to the vengeance of the military. At last, seeing preparations made to fire the premises, and not knowing where the conflagration might terminate, a magistrate read the riot act; but without effect. The military were then reluctantly ordered to fire; but although several men and women were shot, the desperadoes did not cease the work of destruction until nothing but the bare and smoking walls were left standing. At this time the British metropolis may be said to have been entirely in the hands of a lawless, reckless, and frenzied mob! The vilest of the rabble possessed more power and authority than the king upon the throne; the functions of government were, for a time, suspended; and the seat of legislation had become the theatre of anarchy and misrule. So confident now were the rioters in their own irresistible strength, that on the afternoon of the above day, they sent notices round to the various prisons yet left standing, to inform the prisoners at what hour they intended to visit and liberate them! If any one incident connected with a scene of such devastation, plunder, and triumphant villany, could raise a smile on the face of the reader or narrator, it would be the fact, that the prisoners confined in the Fleet, sent to request that they might not be turned out of their lodgings so late in the evening; to which a generous answer was returned, that they would not be disturbed till next day! In order not to be idle, however, the considerate mob amused themselves during the rest of the evening in burning the houses of lord Petre and about twenty other individuals of note—protestant as well as catholic,—and concluded the labours of the day by ordering a general illumination in celebration of their triumph—an order which the inhabitants were actually compelled to obey!

On Wednesday, this horrible scene of tumult and devastation reached its acme. A party of the rioters paid a visit to lord Mansfield's beautiful villa at Caen-wood in the forenoon, and coolly began to regale themselves with the contents of his larder and wine-cellar, preparatory to their commencing the usual work of destruction. Their orgies were interrupted, however, by a party of military, and they fled in all directions. It was not until the evening that the main body seriously renewed their diabolical work; and the scene which ensued is described by contemporary writers, who witnessed the proceedings, as being too frightful for the power of language to convey the slightest idea of. Detachments of military, foot and horse, had gradually been drawing in from different parts of the interior; the civic authorities, who up to that time had been solely occupied consulting and debating upon the course they should pur-

sue in the awful and unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed, began to gather resolution, to concentrate their force, and to perceive the absolute necessity of acting with vigour and decision—a necessity which every moment increased. The strong arm of the law, which had so long hung paralyzed over the heads of the wretched criminals, once more became nerved, and prepared to avenge the cause of justice, humanity, and social order. The struggle, however, as may well be conceived, was dreadful; and we gladly borrow the language of one who witnessed the awful spectacle, in detailing the events of that ever-memorable night. The King's Bench, Fleet Prison, Borough Clink, and Surrey Bridewell, were all in flames at the same moment, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general havoc. No less than *thirty-six* fearful conflagrations in different parts of the metropolis, were seen raging simultaneously, "*licking up every thing in their way,*" as a writer at the time expressively described it, and "*hastening to meet each other.*"

"Let those," observes the writer before alluded to, "call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, the Surrey Bridewell, and the toll houses on Blackfriars bridge; from houses in flames in every quarter of the city, and particularly from the middle and lower end of Holborn, where the premises of Messrs Langdale and Son, eminent distillers, were blazing as if the whole elements were one continued flame; the cries of men, women, and children, running up and down the street, with whatever, in their fright, they thought most necessary or most precious; the tremendous roar of the infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor, who aided the sly incendiaries, whose sole aim was plunder; and the repeated reports of the loaded musquetry dealing death and worse than death among the thronging multitude!" But it was not what was doing only, but what *might yet be done*, that roused the fears of all classes. When they beheld the very outcasts of society every where triumphant, and heard of their attempting the bank; threatening Doctors-Commons, the Exchange, the Pay-Office; in short, every repository of treasure and office of record, men of every persuasion and party bitterly lamented the rise and progress of the bloody and fatal insurrection, and execrated the authors of it. Had the bank and public offices been the first objects of attack, instead of the jails and houses of private individuals, there is not the smallest reason to doubt of their success. The consequences of such an event to the nation may well be imagined!

The regulars and militia poured into the city in such numbers during the night of Wednesday and the morning of Thursday, that, on the latter day, order was in a great measure restored; but the alarm of the inhabitants was so great that every door remained shut. So speedily and effectually, however, did the strict exercise of authority subdue the spirit of tumult, that on Friday, the 9th of June, the shops once more were opened, and business resumed its usual course.

So terminated the famous riots of 1780; an event which will long be memorable in the history of our country, and ought to remain a warning beacon to future popular leaders, of the danger of exciting the passions of the multitude for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, under the idea that they can stop the career of the monster they have evoked, *when the wished-for end is attained*. It was impossible to ascertain correctly the exact number of the unhappy beings, whose depravity, zeal, or curiosity hurried them on to a fatal doom. The sword and the musket proved not half so deadly a foe as their own inordinate passions. Great numbers died from sheer inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr Langdale, from which the unrectified spirits ran down the middle of the streets, was taken up in pailfuls, and held



to the mouths of the deluded multitude, many of whom dropt down dead on the spot, and were burned or buried in the ruins.

The following is said to be a copy of the returns made to lord Amherst of the killed and wounded by the military, during the disturbances :—

By association troops and guards,	109	} Killed
By light horse,	101	
Died in hospitals,	75	
Prisoners under cure,	173	
	458	

To this fatal list, which, it will be seen, is exclusive of those who perished by accident, or their own folly or infatuation, may be added those whom the vengeance of the law afterwards overtook. Eighty-five were tried at the Old Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, forty-three acquitted, seventeen respited, and eighteen executed. At St Margaret's Hill forty were tried under special commission, of whom about twenty were executed. Besides these, several of the rioters were afterwards from time to time apprehended, tried, and executed in various parts of the country. Amongst those convicted at the Old Bailey, but afterwards respited, probably on account of the immediate occasion for his services, was the common *hangman*, Edward Dennis, the first of his profession, we believe, who was dubbed with the *soubriquet* of *Jack Ketch*. In concluding our account of these riots, we may mention that similar disturbances also broke out at the same time at Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places, but were suppressed without almost any mischief, and no bloodshed.

On Thursday the 8th, the commons met, according to appointment, but as it was still thought necessary to keep a guard of military round the house, a state of investment incompatible with free and deliberative legislation, they immediately adjourned to the 19th. On Friday, a meeting of the privy council was held, when a warrant was issued for the apprehension of lord George Gordon. This was forthwith put into execution, and lord George was brought in a hackney coach to the Horse Guards, where he underwent a long examination, and was afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower, being escorted by a strong guard of horse and foot. It is scarcely necessary to state, before tracing the subsequent career and fate of this singular individual, that no repeal of the toleration act took place. The question was taken up in the house of commons on the very first day after the recess, when all parties were unanimous in reprobating the desired repeal, and the "Protestant Petition," which had given occasion, or been made the pretext for so much mischief and loss of life, accordingly fell to the ground.

Having given such ample details of the cause, rise, and progress of what some zealous protestant writers of the day termed, rather inconsistently, the "Popish Riots," it would be equally tedious and supererogatory to enter into a lengthened account of the trial of the individual upon whom government charged the *onus* of the fatal events. The proceedings, as may be imagined, engrossed the undivided attention of the whole kingdom, during their progress, but almost the sole point of interest connected with them now, after such a lapse of time, is the speech of the celebrated honourable Thomas Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, which has been regarded as one of the very highest of those flights of overpowering eloquence with which that remarkable man from time to time astonished his audiences, and, indeed, the whole world. The trial of lord George Gordon did not come on until the 5th of February, 1781; the reason of this delay—nearly eight months—we do not find explained.

During his confinement, lord George was frequently visited by his brother the duke, and other illustrious individuals, and every attention was paid to his comfort and convenience. He was accompanied from the Tower to Westminster hall by the duke, and a great number of other noble relatives. His counsel were Mr (afterwards lord) Kenyon, and the honourable Thomas Erskine. The charge against the prisoner was that of high treason, in attempting to raise and levy war and insurrection against the king, &c. His lordship pleaded *not guilty*. The trial commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday the 5th, and at a quarter past five next morning, the jury returned an unqualified verdict of acquittal. Twenty-three witnesses were examined for the crown, and sixteen for the prisoner. The evidence, as may be imagined, was extremely contradictory in its tendency, proceeding, as it did, from individuals whose impressions as to the cause and character of the fatal occurrences, were so very dissimilar, —one party seeing in the conduct of lord George merely that of an unprincipled, callous-hearted, and ambitious demagogue, reckless of consequences to the well-being of society, provided he obtained his own private ends; while another looked upon him as an ill-used and unfortunate patriot, whose exertions to maintain the stability of the protestant religion, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the people, had been defeated by the outrages of a reckless and brutal mob. By the latter party, all the evil consequences and disreputability of the tumults were charged upon the government and civic authorities, on account of the lax state of the police, and the utter want of a properly organized defensive power in the metropolis. A third party (we mean in the kingdom) there was, who viewed lord George merely as an object of compassion, attributing his, certainly unusual, behaviour to an aberration of intellect,—an opinion which numerous subsequent eccentricities in his conduct, have induced many of a later era to adopt.

The speech of Mr Erskine was distinguished for that originality of style and boldness of manner which were the chief characteristics of his forensic displays. One very remarkable passage in it has been considered by his political friends and admirers as the *ne plus ultra* of rhetorical tact and effective energy, although we confess, that, as a precedent, we would reckon the employment of such terms more honoured in the breach than the observance. In reviewing lord George's conduct and deportment during the progress of the unhappy tumults, the orator abruptly broke out with the following emphatic interjection:—"I say, BY GOD, that man is a *ruffian* who will dare to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" The effect of this most unexpected and unparalleled figure of oratory, is described by those who heard it to have been perfectly magical. The court, the jury, the bar, and the spectators were for a while spell-bound with astonishment and admiration. It is acknowledged by all, that the speech of Mr Erskine on this occasion was almost the very highest effort of his powerful and nervous eloquence. The speech of Mr Kenyon was likewise remarkable for its ability and effect. Great rejoicings took place on account of his lordship's acquittal, amongst his partisans, particularly in Scotland. General illuminations were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow; congratulatory addresses were voted to him; and £485 subscribed to reimburse him for the expenses of his trial. Although, however, lord George continued in high favour with the party just named, and took part in most of the public discussions in parliament, as usual, his credit seems to have been irretrievably ruined with all the moderate and sober-minded part of the nation. He was studiously shunned by all his legislative colleagues, and was in such disgrace at court, that we find him detailing to his protestant correspondents at Edinburgh, in language of the deepest mortification, his reception at

a royal levee, where the king coldly turned his back upon him, without seeming to recognise him. Repeated efforts appear to have been made by his relatives at this time, to induce him to withdraw from public life, but without success; and his conduct became daily more eccentric and embarrassing to his friends. It is impossible, indeed, to account for it upon any other ground than that of gradual aberration of mind.

In April, 1787, two prosecutions were brought against Lord George at the instance of the crown; one for preparing and presenting a pretended petition to himself from certain prisoners confined in Newgate, praying him to intercede for them, and prevent their being banished to Botany Bay; the other for a libel upon the queen of France and French ambassador. Mr Wilkins, the printer of the petitions, was also proceeded against. Both pleaded not guilty. It is a somewhat curious fact, that on this occasion Mr Erskine, Lord George's former counsel, appeared against him. Lord George acted as his own defendant, on the score of being too poor to employ counsel. The Newgate petition, evidently his Lordship's production, was a mere farrago of absurdity, treason, and blasphemy, reflecting on the laws, railing at the crown-officers, and condemning his majesty by large quotations from the book of Moses. He was found guilty, as was also Mr Wilkins. Upon the second charge, the gist of which was a design to create a misunderstanding betwixt the two courts of France and England, he was also found guilty. His speech on this last occasion was so extravagant, and contained expressions so indecorous, that the attorney-general told him "he was a disgrace to the name of Briton." The sentence upon him was severe enough: upon the first verdict he was condemned to be imprisoned two years,—upon the second, a further imprisonment of three years; at the expiration of which he was to pay a fine of £500, to find two securities in £2500 each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years; and himself to be bound in a recognizance of £10,000. In the interval, however, between the verdict and the passing of the sentence, he took an opportunity of escaping to Holland, where he landed in May. Here, however, he was not allowed to remain long. He was placed under arrest, and sent back from Amsterdam to Harwich, where he was landed in the latter end of July. From that place he proceeded to Birmingham, where he resided till December; having in the meantime become a proselyte to Judaism, and performing rigidly the prescribed rites and duties of that faith. Information having reached government of his place of residence, and the increasing eccentricities of his conduct evidently pointing him out as an improper person to be allowed to go at large, a messenger was despatched from London, who apprehended him and brought him to town, where he was lodged in Newgate. His appearance in court when brought up to receive the sentence he had previously eluded, is described as being miserable in the extreme. He was wrapt up in an old greatcoat, his beard hanging down on his breast; whilst his studiously sanctimonious deportment, and other traits of his conduct, too evidently showed an aberration of intellect. He bowed in silence, and with devout humility, on hearing his sentence. Soon after his confinement, he got printed and distributed a number of treasonable handbills, copies of which he sent to the ministry with his name attached to them. These, like his "prisoners' petition," were composed of extracts from Moses and the prophets, evidently bearing upon the unhappy condition of the king, who was then in a state of mental alienation.

In the following July, 1789, this singular and unhappy being addressed a letter, or petition to the National Assembly of France, in which, after eulogizing the progress of revolutionary principles, he requests of them to interfere on his behalf with the English government to get him liberated. He was answered

by that body, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to interfere; but he was visited in prison by several of the most eminent revolutionists, who assured his lordship of their best offices for his enlargement. To the application of these individuals, however, lord Grenville answered that their entreaties could not be complied with. Nothing further worthy of mention remains to be told in the career of this unhappy man. After lord Grenville's answer, he remained quietly in prison, occasionally sending letters to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, written in the same half-frenzied style as his former productions. In November, 1793, after being confined ten months longer than the prescribed term of his imprisonment, for want of the necessary security for his enlargement, he expired in Newgate of a fever, having been delirious for three days previous to his death.

GORDON, JAMES, a member of the noble family of Gordon, and distinguished for his erudition, was born in the year 1543. Having been sent to Rome for his education, he there became a jesuit, while yet in the twentieth year of his age, and such was his extraordinary progress in learning, that in six years afterwards (1569,) he was created doctor of divinity. He next became professor of languages and divinity, in which capacity he distinguished himself in various parts of Europe, particularly in Rome, Paris, and Bourdeaux. In these duties he was occupied for nearly fifty years, during which time he acquired much reputation for learning and acuteness. Gordon was frequently deputed as a missionary to England and Scotland, and was twice imprisoned for his zeal in attempting to make converts. He was also, on account of his superior abilities, often employed by the general of his order in negotiating their affairs; a duty for which his penetration and knowledge of the world especially qualified him.

Alegambe describes Gordon as a saint; but with all his talents and learning, he does not seem to have had any very great pretensions to the honour of canonization, since it is beyond doubt that he led, notwithstanding Alegambe's account of him, an exceedingly dissipated life. He, however, rigidly practised all the austerities of his order, and, with all his irregularities, rose every morning at three o'clock. His only writings, are "*Controversiarum Fidei Epitome*," in three parts or volumes; the first printed at Limoges, in 1612, the second at Paris, and the third at Cologne, in 1620.

GORDON, ROBERT, of Straloch, an eminent geographer and antiquary, was born at Kinmundy in Aberdeenshire, on the 14th September, 1580. He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, a gentleman who long stood high in the favour of his sovereign, James VI., as appears, amongst other circumstances, from some curious letters addressed to him by that monarch, in one of which he is laid under contribution, though in the most affectionate terms, for a horse for the king's approaching marriage, and in another is warmly invited to the baptism of the unfortunate Charles I.

Robert Gordon received the first rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, and having passed the usual course of the humanity, mathematical, and philosophical classes, was the *first* graduate of the Marischal university, then recently founded by George earl of Marischal. In 1598, being in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Paris to complete his education. Here he remained for two years. On his father's death, which happened in 1600, he returned to Scotland, and in 1608, having married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, he bought the estate of Straloch, ten miles north of Aberdeen, and now devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies, geography, history, and the antiquities of Britain. To the first of these he seems to have been especially attached, and it was his perseverance, industry, and accuracy in this science, then in an extremely rude state, which first obtained him the celebrity

which he afterwards enjoyed. There were only at this time three maps of Scotland in existence, all of them so rude and inaccurate as to be wholly useless. The inaccuracy of these sketches had been long known, and was the subject of great and universal complaint. Urged on by this, and the general dissatisfaction, Mr Gordon employed himself in making geographical surveys by *actual* mensuration; a labour which none of his predecessors had ever subjected themselves to. He has, therefore, the merit of being the first who applied this indispensable but tedious and laborious process for securing accuracy in topographical surveys, to Scotland.

One consequence of Mr Gordon's zeal and industry in these patriotic pursuits, was a great extension of his celebrity, which at length even reached the royal ear. In 1641, king Charles was applied to by the celebrated map and atlas publishers, the Bleaus of Amsterdam, for his patronage of an atlas of Scotland, which they were then contemplating, and requesting his majesty to appoint some qualified persons to assist them with information for the intended work; and, in especial, to arrange and amend certain geographic sketches of one Timothy Pont,<sup>1</sup> of which they had been previously put in possession, but in a confused and mutilated state. This task, king Charles, in the following flattering letter, devolved upon Mr Gordon. "Having lately seen certain charts of divers shires of this our ancient kingdom, sent here from Amsterdam, to be corrected and helpit in the defects thereof, and being informed of your sufficiency in that art, and of your love both to learning and to the credit of your nation; we have therefore thought fit hereby, earnestly to entreat you to take so much pains as to revise the said charts, and to help them in such things as you find deficient thereuntil, that they may be sent back by the direction of our chancellor to Holland; which, as the same will be honourable for yourself, so shall it do us good and acceptable service, and if occasion present we shall not be unmindful thereof. From our palace of Holyrood house, the 8th October, 1641."

Mr Gordon readily undertook the task thus imposed upon him, and in 1648, the atlas was published with a dedication from Mr Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who had greatly encouraged and forwarded the work. A second edition of this atlas, which was long the standard book of reference for Scotland, and its numerous islands, was published in 1655, and a third in 1664. It is now, of course, superseded by later and more scientific surveys.

The work consists of 46 maps, general and particular, with ample descriptions and detached treatises on the antiquities of Scotland. Of such importance was this undertaking considered, that, wild and disordered as the times were, Mr Gordon was during its progress made a special object of the care and protection of the legislature. An act of parliament was passed exempting him from all new taxations, and relieving him from the quartering of soldiers. To carry this law into effect, orders were issued from time to time by the various commanders of the forces in North Britain, discharging all officers and soldiers, as well horse as foot, from troubling or molesting, or quartering on Mr Robert Gordon of Straloch, his house, lands, or tenants, and from levying any public dues on the said Mr Robert Gordon, or on any of his possessions.

The charts exclusively executed by Mr Gordon were: 1st. A chart of Great Britain and Ireland, taken from Ptolemy, and the most ancient Roman authors. 2d. A map of ancient Scotland, as described in the Roman Itineraries. 3d. A map of modern Scotland. 4th. A map of the county of Fife, from actual survey and mensuration. 5th. A map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with part of the county of Kincardine. 6th. A large map or geographical view,

<sup>1</sup> Son of Mr Robert Pont, minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh.

taken from actual survey, of the most inland provinces of Scotland, lying between the river Tay and the Murray frith. 7. A large map, from actual survey, of the most northern, mountainous, and inaccessible parts of Scotland, including part of the island of Skye. To all of these Mr Gordon appended treatises, descriptive of every thing remarkable contained within their various bounds—towns, castles, religious houses, antiquities, rivers, lakes, &c., and occasionally introducing some interesting accounts of the most distinguished families in the different counties.

One of the treatises alluded to is particularly curious, from its containing an attempt to overturn the commonly received opinion as to the ultima Thule of the Romans. This tract, which is entitled "*De Insula Thule Dissertatio*," endeavours to show that none of the Orkney or Shetland islands, and still less Iceland, answers to Ptolemy's chart of Thule; and Mr Gordon concludes it by giving it as his opinion, that the island of Lewis the most westerly of the Hebrides, is the real Thule of the ancient Romans. Besides these meritorious works, Mr Gordon wrote many detached pieces of much interest and value; none of which, however, though many extracts have been made from them, have yet been published. Amongst the most important of these are, a critical letter in Latin to Mr David Buchanan, containing strictures on the histories of Boyce, Buchanan, and Knox, and on Buchanan's treatise, "*De jure Regni apud Scotos*;" and a preface intended to be prefixed to a new edition of Spottiswood's history. The last work of any importance which he undertook, was a history of the family of Gordon. This work, however, is incorrect in many important particulars, and in many instances erroneous with regard to its historical facts, especially previous to the year 1403. When Mr Gordon undertook this work he was far advanced in years, led a retired life, and had no ready access to those documents and records which alone could have ensured accuracy, circumstances which may be admitted as some apology in the case of a man who had already done so much, and had rendered such important services to his country. Mr Gordon finally closed a long and active life in August, 1661, having then attained the 81st year of his age. It is much to be regretted, that he did not, as he appears to have contemplated, write an account of his own times, which embraces one of the most important periods of Scottish history. There was no one better fitted for this task, as well from the talents which he possessed, as from the uncommon opportunities which he enjoyed, of studying the leading characters and events of these stirring times, for his superior judgment, peaceable demeanour, and generally judicious conduct, gained him the confidence and esteem of all parties, and thus brought him often in contact, as an adviser and mediator, with the chief men of both the factions which then distracted the state. With the view of compiling such a work as has been alluded to, Mr Gordon had collected a vast quantity of interesting documents relative to the Montrose wars. These his son, Mr James Gordon, afterwards employed, in compiling such an account as his father had contemplated. This work, which was never published, and which contains the transactions of the northern part of Scotland beyond the Forth, from 1637 to 1643, is now in the Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh.

As has been already said, Mr Gordon, though residing in the very midst of civil war and commotion, was not only permitted to live in quiet, and to pursue his studies without interruption, but was frequently summoned to attend the meetings of the commissioners appointed by parliament, and by the general assemblies of the church.

One of these invitations from the earl of Marischal and general Middleton, besides showing the importance which was attached to Mr Gordon's advice, is sufficiently curious in itself. It is addressed "to the right honourable, the laird

of Stralloch," and runs as follows:—"Right Honourable, in regard we are called to be here for the time, for taking course for what may concern the public, &c. these are, therefore, to desire that you will be here at Aberdeen on Friday next, the 3d of October, 1645, when we shall meet you there. So looking assuredly for your meeting us, as you will testify your affection to the business, and have us to remain your affectionate friends. (signed) MARISCHAL, JOHN MIDDLETON."

Another extract, still more interesting, from one of many letters addressed to Mr Gordon, by lord Gordon, craving his advice and assistance, will not only show the deference which was paid to his candour and judgment; but will also show how fully they were appreciated by both parties. Lord Gordon, who was afterwards killed at Alford, after earnestly soliciting a meeting for advice, adds, "If I be too far engaged, or be not well advised, my friends and I both may find the prejudice. In conscience this is no draught, but a mere necessity, which I hope you will consider. I do neither envy you in enjoying your furred gown nor the fireside, I promise you, but do earnestly wish to see you."

Besides his other accomplishments, Mr Gordon was a profound classical scholar, and wrote Latin with much readiness and elegance.

GORDON, ROSSAR, founder of the hospital in Aberdeen which bears his name, was born about the year 1665. His father, Arthur Gordon, was the ninth son of the celebrated Robert Gordon of Pitlurg, (commonly designated of Stralloch,) and rose to some eminence as an advocate in Edinburgh. In the latter part of his life he settled in Aberdeen, where he died 1680, leaving two children,—the subject of this memoir, and a daughter who was married to Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog, near Cullen.

With regard to the founder of Gordon's hospital, very little is known with certainty. That he was a gentleman by birth is certain, and that he was a man of parts and education, is generally allowed. He is said to have had a patrimony of about £1100; and, according to some accounts, he spent most of this fortune while travelling on the continent with a friend. According to other accounts, he went to Dantzic, and having engaged there in the mercantile line, realized a considerable sum of money. It is probable that he betook himself to business after having acted the prodigal in the earlier part of his life, and therefore both accounts may be in some measure correct. It is certain, however, that he resided on the continent for a considerable time, and returned to his native country about the beginning of the last century, taking up his residence in Aberdeen. From all that can be learned, he did not, during the remaining part of his life, engage in any sort of business, and he must therefore have brought home with him money to a considerable amount, otherwise we cannot well account for the large fortune of which he was possessed at the time of his death, even taking into account his extreme parsimony. Whether he set his heart upon accumulating wealth previous to his return from abroad, or afterwards, cannot be clearly ascertained. It is said that a disappointment in love was the primary cause of his forming this resolution, and there are not wanting instances of men, who, when they found the god of love unpropitious, have transferred their devotions to the shrine of Mammon. The same disappointment is also said to have determined him to live and die a bachelor—a determination to which he most faithfully adhered. We find in the library of Marischal college a copy of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy which had belonged to him, and which he had purchased in London, as appears from his own hand-writing upon a blank leaf. Might he not have purchased this book to divert his melancholy, while suffering under the pangs of unrequited love?

During the latter part of his life, he carried his parsimonious habits to the utmost extreme. He is said to have lived in a small apartment, which

he rented, denying himself all the comforts and conveniences of life, and even using its necessities in the most sparing manner; inasmuch, that his whole personal expense, room rent included, did not exceed £5 sterling annually. Many of the anecdotes which have been handed down by tradition, respecting the habits and privations of this singular individual, seem to be nearly the same which are related of certain English misers of celebrity. It is told of him, for instance, that he used to keep himself warm by walking backwards and forwards in his room with a bag of coals on his back, judging, no doubt, that this was a more economical method of procuring heat, than by burning the coals. Also, that he sometimes contrived to satisfy the cravings of appetite by going to the market, and tasting a little of the various articles of provision, such as meal, butter, cheese, &c., by way of ascertaining their quality before he should make any purchase. Another anecdote is recorded of him, which seems less incredible. A particular friend of his who was in the way of spending an evening with him occasionally (for he was naturally of a social disposition), was so highly honoured that, as often as the meeting took place, a small rush-light was produced to enliven the scene. One evening, however, the same friend perceiving the rays of the moon shining brightly into the apartment, observed, no doubt with the view of ingratiating himself more with his host, that it was a pity to waste the candle when the moonlight was quite sufficient. The hint was not lost, and afterwards when the two friends met it was most scrupulously attended to. He is said to have been fond of reading, and in order to indulge his literary taste without expense, during the dark evenings, he is said to have bored a hole in the floor of his apartment, to allow the light from a cobbler's lamp in the room below to shine through, and by lying down on his side, he thus contrived to get as much light as to see the page before him.

Yet although avarice had taken a strong hold of his mind, and subjected him to the most severe privations, it was never able fully to eradicate the natural sociability of his disposition, or to destroy his relish for the luxuries and enjoyments of life: for he is said to have mixed in society as often as he could do so without affecting his purse, and to have indulged pretty freely in the pleasures of the table, when the banquet was not furnished at his own expense. As he was a person of shrewdness and intelligence, and one who had seen a good deal of the world, and was also known to possess wealth, it may be supposed he was not an unwelcome guest at the table of many of his fellow citizens.

It has been asserted by some, that Mr Gordon's parsimonious habits arose from the design which he had formed, of founding and endowing an hospital for the benefit of the male children of the poorer class of citizens; and we should be glad to be able to establish the truth of this assertion; but from all we can find, it was not till a considerable time after the desire of amassing wealth by every possible means had taken possession of his mind, and within, perhaps, a few years of his death, that he entertained the benevolent design above alluded to. Severe animadversions have been passed upon his character, on account of his having bequeathed no part of his fortune to his poorer relations, especially to his sister, who was in indigent circumstances, and had a numerous family; and indeed, it is difficult to justify his conduct in this respect. Perhaps it was sufficient for him to know that he was not legally bound to make any provision for his poor relatives; and we know that avarice tends to harden the heart and stifle the feelings of natural affection. While conversing on one occasion with the provost of Aberdeen, on the subject of the settlement which he was about to make, the latter is said to have hinted to him that he ought to remember his relations as well as the public; but this, instead of having the desired effect, drew from him the following severe rebuke:—"What have I to expect, sir, when



you, who are at the head of the town of Aberdeen's affairs, plead against a settlement from which your citizens are to derive so great benefits?"

The deed of mortification for founding and endowing the hospital, was drawn up and signed by him, on the 13th December, 1729. By this deed he transferred, in favour of the provost, baillies, and town council of the burgh of Aberdeen, together with the four town's ministers, and their successors in their respective offices, the sum of £10,000 sterling, or such sum or sums as his effects might amount to at his death, in trust for erecting and maintaining an hospital, to be called Robert Gordon's Hospital, for educating and maintaining indigent male children, and male grandchildren of decayed merchants, and brethren of guild of the burgh of Aberdeen, of the name of Gordon, in the first place, and of the name of Menzies in the second (the nearest relations of the mortifier of the names of Gordon and Menzies, being always preferred), and the male children of any other relations of the mortifier that are of any other name, in the third place, to be preferred to others. After these, male children, or male grandchildren, of any other merchants or brethren of guild of Aberdeen, to be admitted; and after them the sons or grandsons of tradesmen or others, under certain restrictions mentioned in the deed. The provost, baillies, town council, and the four town's ministers, and their successors, were appointed perpetual patrons and governors. A certain sum of money was appointed to be laid out in erecting the building, but no boys were to be admitted till the intended sum of £10,000 sterling was made good by the accumulation of interest. An appendix to the deed of mortification was executed by the founder, on the 19th September, 1730, containing a few trifling alterations. His death took place in January, 1732, in consequence, it is said, of his having eaten to excess at a public entertainment; but the accounts on this subject are contradictory, and therefore entitled to little credit. His executors buried him with great expense and pomp in Drum's Aisle, and it is likely that the occasion was one of joy rather than of mourning. Mr Gordon was somewhat tall in person, and of a gentlemanly appearance, with a mild and intellectual countenance, if we may judge from an original portrait of him in the hospital. That he was possessed of more than ordinary intelligence and good sense, may be inferred from the excellent regulations which he framed for the management of the hospital. The importance he attached to religion as an element of education, is shown by the anxiety which he manifested, and the ample provision made in the deed of mortification, for the support and encouragement of true religion and good morals in the institution founded by his munificence. He also appears to have been a man of taste, and he left behind him a good collection of coins and medals, and also of drawings.

By his deed of mortification, Robert Gordon excluded females from any office whatever in his projected institution. This has been ascribed to an antipathy which he is believed to have entertained to the sex in general. With greater reason it has been supposed that their exclusion was dictated by an over-scrupulous regard to the moral training of the boys who were to be educated in the hospital; and the same fantastic notion no doubt suggested the introduction of another clause, enjoining celibacy upon the master and teachers. These monastic restrictions were fitted to produce the very effect which they were intended to prevent, besides depriving the institution of everything like home comfort and influence. Before the rule excluding females had been long in operation, the Governors, finding it to be exceedingly inconvenient, if not impracticable, to carry out the founder's views in this respect, resolved "that women servants be taken into and employed in the hospital;" and afterwards they appointed a matron to superintend them. That part of the deed condemning the master and teachers to a life of celibacy, was strictly enforced until the year 1842, when the

Governors resolved that the teachers should be allowed to live out of the hospital, and that they, and also the master, who was to reside constantly in the house, might marry without forfeiting their offices—a plan which has likewise been adopted in Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.

At Mr Gordon's death, his property was found to amount to £10,300 sterling, a very large sum in those times. His executors immediately proceeded to the execution of their important trust, and erected an hospital (according to a plan designed by Mr William Adam, architect, Edinburgh, father of the more celebrated architect, Robert Adam); and the place chosen for the building was the ground which formerly belonged to the Black Friars, situated on the north side of the School-hill. The expense of the erection was £3300; and as this had trenchoned considerably on the original funds, the plan of the founder could not be carried into effect until the deficiency was made up by the accumulation of interest on the remainder of the fund. Owing also to the disturbances which took place in 1745-6, and certain other causes, the hospital was not ready for the reception of boys till 1750; but the funds by this time had accumulated to £14,000. The number of boys at first admitted was thirty; but as the funds continued to increase, owing to good management, by purchases of lands, rise in rents, and other causes, the number was increased from time to time. In 1816, an additional endowment was made to the hospital by Alexander Simpson, Esq., of Collyhill, under the management of the Professors of Marischal College, and four of the city clergy. By this endowment, which came into operation in 1838, twenty-six additional boys are maintained and educated in the hospital. At present the whole number of boys in the institution is one hundred and fifty. A head-master, having under him a house-steward, superintends the establishment; there are three regular teachers, and three others who attend the hospital at stated hours. The branches taught are, besides religious instruction—English, writings, arithmetic, book-keeping, Latin, French, geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, church music, instrumental music, and drawing. There is also a master for drill exercises. The funds are at present in a most flourishing state, and the yearly revenue is about £3500.

Very extensive additions have been made to the original building; and the hospital, as it now stands, presents a spacious and imposing appearance. Accommodations are furnished for about two hundred and forty boys, although many years must elapse before such a number can be admitted, unless the funds be greatly augmented by additional bequests. The concerns of this institution have been all along managed in a praiseworthy manner, and the benefits arising from it have been visible in numerous instances. Many children have, by means of it, been rescued from poverty, ignorance, and vice—have been fed, clothed, educated, and enabled to pursue honourable callings. Not a few have prospered in their native city and elsewhere as merchants, tradesmen, &c., and several have risen in the world, and have amassed very considerable fortunes. Yet it has been remarked that rarely has the institution turned out any man of genius; and the same remark has been made in regard to other similar institutions. There are, it must be confessed, evils and defects attending all institutions of this kind, in so far as they may be regarded as an engine for the moral, religious, and intellectual training of youth; and many enlightened philanthropists of the present day are beginning to doubt whether the evils and defects inherent in such institutions, are not of such a magnitude as to call for a radical change in them. The worst feature which these institutions exhibit, is the unnatural position in which they place so many young boys, shutting them up together, both good and bad, confining them almost entirely to the society of one another, cutting them off from the endearments, and the softening and humanizing influences of home, and of the family circle,

and from parental care, admonition, and example. Under such circumstances, it need not excite wonder that boys in hospitals, even under the best management and tuition, should be found to be listless and indifferent in regard to learning and improvement; that their moral feelings should be blunted, and their natural affections weakened; and that their intellectual faculties should be less developed than those of other boys of the same age, placed in ordinary circumstances. It may be laid down as the result of the united experience of Gordon's and Heriot's hospitals in Scotland, and of similar institutions in England, that no amount of intellectual instruction can make up for the loss of parental and family influence in the formation of character.

GORDON, THOMAS, an eminent party writer, and translator of Tacitus, is supposed to have been born in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, about the end of the seventeenth century. His father, the representative of an ancient family, descended from the Gordons of Kenmuir, was proprietor of Gairloch in that parish. Thomas Gordon is said to have received a university education in his own country, and then to have gone to London as a literary adventurer: joining these circumstances with his avowed infidelity, it is probable that he was a renegade student of divinity, or licentiate—almost always an unprincipled and odious character. In London, he supported himself at first as a teacher of languages, and gradually became an author by profession. He is said to have been employed as a political writer by the earl of Oxford, in the support of the tory ministry of which that nobleman was the head; but this hardly corresponds with the other dates of his literary exertions, for Mr Gordon appears to have written nothing of which the title has been commemorated, till he formed an intimacy with Mr Trenchard; and, on the 20th of January, 1720, commenced in conjunction with that individual, a weekly political sheet called "the Independent Whig." If Gordon wrote in the reign of queen Anne, what was he doing in the course of the six intervening years? Nor is it of small importance to his reputation that this point should be settled, as he became a distinguished patriot, and a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole—the very reverse, in every respect, of what he is said to have been in the days of queen Anne's tory ministry. It is our own opinion that the latter allegation is not well founded; it does not appear in the original memoir of Gordon in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1766, an article evidently written by a person that must have known himself, or at least his surviving family; that sketch represents him in the more probable character of a young man taken into employment by Mr Trenchard as an amanuensis, and subsequently so much improved by the conversation and instructions of his employer, as to be fitted to enter into a literary partnership with him as an independent patriotic writer. Thus we see much cause to relieve the memory of this clever person from no small share of the odium which has been cast upon it by subsequent biographical writers.

Trenchard, the partner of Gordon, was a political writer of some standing, and no small influence. It was in consequence of a pamphlet from his pen, that the parliament obliged king William to send home his Dutch guards; a proceeding which is said to have moved that grave monarch to tears, and almost induced him to go back to Holland himself. Mr Trenchard was the author of a work which appeared in 1709, under the title of "the Natural History of Superstition," and held the office of commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland. His acquaintance with Gordon appears to have been commenced without the formality of an introduction. "From a perfect stranger to him," says the latter, "and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance, and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another."

This was the more remarkable," continues Gordon, "and did me the greater honour, as he was naturally as shy in making friendships, as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made." The *Independent Whig*, which seems to have been their first joint production, was continued for a year, stopping in January, 1791. Before its conclusion, namely in November, 1790, the two writers had begun a series of letters signed *Cato*, in the *London*, and afterwards in the *British Journal*, which was continued almost to the death of Mr Trenchard, an event that happened in December, 1793. A new edition of the *Independent Whig*, including a renewed series published by Gordon, after Mr Trenchard's death, appeared in two volumes, 12mo. A similar collection of *Cato's Letters*, appeared in four volumes, and went into a fourth edition in 1797.

Of the *Independent Whig*, Dr Murray thus speaks in his *Literary History of Galloway*. "It is a fortunate circumstance, that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. 'One drop of priestcraft,' say they, 'is enough to contaminate the ocean.'

"The object of *Cato's Letters*," continues Dr Murray, "is nearly the same with that of the *Independent Whig*—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was, indeed, directed particularly against the South Sea scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing, at a time when almost the whole nation was intoxicated with dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

"Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterized, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always masters of the subjects of which they treat, and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

"Like every person who, in any way, attempts to undermine the welfare and interests of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claim to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the only two wise, patriotic, and independent men of the age in which they lived. 'As these letters,' says Gordon, in his preface, 'were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever; but attacked falsehood and dishonesty, in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties: so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.' "

After the death of Mr Trenchard, his widow, after the manner of ladies in a more expressly commercial rank of life, became the second wife of her husband's journeyman and partner, Mr Gordon,—apparently induced to take this step by the usefulness of Gordon in managing her affairs. By this lady, who survived him, and was living in 1766, he had several children. His circumstances were now very easy and agreeable, and he appears to have contemplated

tasks which required leisure, and promised to give him a permanent fame. A translation of Tacitus executed by him, (the third printed in the English language,) with discourses taken from foreign commentators and translators of that historian, appeared in 1728, two volumes folio; and the subscription being patronized by Sir Robert Walpole, it proved a very lucrative speculation. Of this work, one writer speaks as follows:—"No classic was ever perhaps so miserably mangled. His (Gordon's) style is extremely vulgar, yet affected, and abounds with abrupt and inharmonious periods, totally destitute of any resemblance to the original; while the translator fancied he was giving a correct imitation."<sup>1</sup> Another writer, adverts to it in very different terms. "Though it is now," says Dr Murray,<sup>2</sup> "in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to the work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammatic style of the Roman historian." Gordon afterwards published a translation of Sallust in the same style as his version of Tacitus.

During the long period of Walpole's administration, the subject of this memoir acted as his literary supporter, enjoying in return either a regular pay, or the office of first commissioner of wine licenses. After his death, which happened on the 28th of July, 1750, two collections of his fugitive writings appeared under the respective titles of "A Cordial for Low Spirits," and "The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken;" works which had better, both for his own fame and the welfare of society, been suppressed. Finally, a volume entitled "Sermons on Practical Subjects, addressed to different characters," appeared in 1788.

GORDON, WILLIAM, of Earlston, a zealous defender of the covenant, and this by inheritance as well as principle, being lineally descended from Mr Alexander Gordon, who entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, the first of the English reformers—reading to them, in their secret meetings in the wood of Airds, a New Testament translated into English, of which he had got possession.

As the subject of this notice, however, was—notwithstanding his zeal in the cause of the covenant, and his steady and warm friendship for those who adhered to it—himself a retired and peaceful man, little of any interest is left on record regarding him. And, excepting in one of the last acts of his life, he mingled little with the public transactions of the period in which he lived. So far, however, as his personal influence extended, he did not fail to exhibit, both fearlessly and openly, the religious sentiments which he entertained. He would give no lease of his lands to any one, whatever they might offer, but on condition of their keeping family worship; and he was in the habit of meeting his tenants at a place appointed, every Sunday, and proceeding with them to church. He had also acquired a reputation for his skill in solving cases of conscience, of which some curious enough instances are to be found in Wodrow's *Analecta*, a manuscript work already more than once referred to in the present publication. His first public appearance, in connexion with the faith to which he was so zealously attached, occurred in the year 1663, soon after the restoration of Charles II. An episcopal incumbent having been appointed by the bishop to the church of Dalry, to which Mr Gordon had a right of patronage, he resisted the appointment, on the twofold ground of its being contrary to the

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers's General Biographical Dictionary, xvi. 107

<sup>2</sup> Literary History of Galloway, second edition, 182.

religious tenets of the congregation to admit an episcopal minister, and an invalidation of his own private right as patron. For this contumacy he was charged to appear before the council; but not obeying the summons, he was soon after charged a second time, and accused of keeping conventicles and private meetings in his house, and ordered to forbear the same in time coming. Disobeying this also, as he had done the first, he was immediately after sentenced to banishment, and ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and bound to live peaceably during that time, under a penalty of £10,000. Still disobeying, Gordon was now subjected to all the hardships and rigours of persecution. He was turned out of his house by a military force, and compelled to wander up and down the country like many others of his persecuted brethren. In the meantime the battle of Bothwell Bridge took place, and Gordon, unaware of the defeat of his friends, was hastening to join the ranks, when he was met, not far from the field of battle, by a party of English dragoons, by whom, on refusing to surrender, he was instantly killed. The troubles of the times preventing his friends from removing his body to the burial place of his family, he was interred in the church-yard of Glassford, where a pillar was afterwards erected to his memory.

GOW, NATHANIEL, who, as a violinist and composer, well deserves a place in any work intended to perpetuate the names of Scotsmen who have done honour or service to their country, was the youngest son of the celebrated Neil Gow. His mother's name was Margaret Wiseman, and he was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 28th May, 1786. Nathaniel, and his three brothers, William, John, and Andrew, having all given early indications of musical talent, adopted music as a profession, and the violin, on which their father had already gained so much reputation, as the instrument to which their chief study was to be directed. All the brothers attained considerable eminence, and some of them acquired a fortune by the practice of this instrument; but viewing all the circumstances applicable to each, it will not be looked on as invidious or partial, when we say, that Nathaniel must be considered the most eminent of his family or name, not only as a performer and composer, but as having, more than any other, advanced the cause and popularity of our national music during his time, and provided, by his publications, a permanent repository of Scottish music, the most complete of its kind hitherto given to the world.

Nathaniel was indebted to his father for his first instructions. He commenced on a small violin commonly called a *kit*, on which his father Neil had also made his first essay, and which is still preserved in the family. At an early age he was sent to Edinburgh, where he continued the study of the violin, first under Robert M'Intosh, or Red Rob, as he was called, until the latter, from his celebrity, was called up to London. He next took lessons from M'Glashan, better known by the appellation of king M'Glashan, which he acquired from his tall stately appearance, and the showy style in which he dressed; and who besides was in high estimation as an excellent composer of Scottish airs, and an able and spirited leader of the fashionable bands. He studied the violoncello under Joseph Reneagle, a name of some note in the musical world, who, after a long residence in Edinburgh, was appointed to the professorship of music at Oxford. With Reneagle he ever after maintained the closest intimacy and friendship. The following laconic letter from the professor in 1821, illustrates this:—  
 “Dear Gow, I write this to request the favour of you to give me all the particulars regarding the ensuing coronation, viz.—Does the crown of Scotland go? Do the trumpeters go? Do you go? Does Mrs Gow go? If so, my wife and self will go; and if you do not go, I will not go, nor my wife go.” Gow's

first professional appearance, it is believed, was in the band conducted by king M<sup>c</sup>Glashan, in which he played the violoncello. After the death of M<sup>c</sup>Glashan, he continued under his elder brother William Gow, who succeeded as leader, a situation for which he was well fitted by his bold and spirited style; but having been cut off about the year 1791, at the early age of forty, Nathaniel took his place, and maintained it for nearly forty years, with an éclat and success far beyond any thing that ever preceded or followed him.

So early as 1782, when he could not have been more than sixteen years of age, Gow was appointed one of his majesty's trumpeters for Scotland, a situation which required only partial attendance and duty, being called on only to officiate at royal proclamations, and to accompany the judiciary judges on their circuits for a few weeks, thrice in each year. The salary is small, but it is made up by handsome allowances for travelling expenses, so that in all it may yield the holder about £70 per annum. This situation he held to the day of his death, although during some of his later years, he was forced to employ a substitute, who drew a considerable portion of the emoluments.

He had for many years previously, by assuming the lead of the fashionable bands, become known not only as an excellent violin player, but as a successful teacher, and as having arranged and prepared for publication the first three numbers of the collection of reels and strathspeys published by his father. So much, however, and so quickly did he advance in reputation after this, and so generally did he become acquainted with the great and fashionable world, that in 1796, without giving up or abating his lucrative employment as leader, he commenced business as a music-seller on an extensive scale, in company with the late Mr Wm. Shepherd; and for fifteen or sixteen years, commanded the most extensive business perhaps ever enjoyed by any house in the line in Scotland. In 1813, however, after his partner's death, the business was wound up, and whatever profits he may have drawn during the subsistence of the partnership, he was obliged to pay up a considerable shortcoming at its close.

It was in 1799 that he continued the work commenced by his father and himself; and from that time till 1824, in addition to the three first collections, and two books of Slow Airs, Dances, Waltzes, &c., he published a fourth, fifth, and sixth Collection of Strathspeys and Reels; three volumes of Beauties, being a re-publication of the best airs in the three first collections, with additions,—four volumes of a Repository of Scots Slow Airs, Strathspeys, and Dances—two volumes of Scots Vocal Melodies, and a Collection of Ancient Curious Scots Melodies, besides a great many smaller publications, all arranged by himself for the harp, piano forte, violin, and violoncello. During the life of his father, he was assisted by him, and the first numbers were published as the works of Neil Gow and Son. Many collections had been published previously by ingenious individuals, the best of which, perhaps, was that of Oswald; but Gow's collections, beyond all dispute, are the most extensive and most complete ever submitted to the public; embracing not only almost all that is good in others, but the greater part of the compositions of Neil and Nathaniel Gow, and other members of that musical family.

After an interval of a few years, Gow commenced music-seller once more, in company with his only son Neil, a young man of amiable and cultivated mind, who had received a finished education at Edinburgh and Paris for the profession of surgeon, but who, finding no favourable opening in that overstocked calling, and having a talent and love for music, abandoned it and joined his father. This young gentleman, who was the composer of the beautiful melody of "Bonny Prince Charlie," and a great many others, was not long spared to his father and friends, having been cut off by a lingering disease in 1823. The

business was afterwards continued until 1827; but, wanting a proper head—Gow himself being unable to look after it—it dwindled away; and poor Gow, after a long life of toil, during which he had gathered considerable wealth, found himself a bankrupt at a time when age and infirmity prevented him from doing anything to retrieve his fortunes.

It is difficult to describe the influence, success, and reputation of Nathaniel Gow, during all the time he conducted the fashionable bands in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland; but certain it is, that in these respects he stands at the head of all that ever trode in the same department. Not only did he preside at the peers' balls, Caledonian Hunt balls, and at the parties of all the noble and fashionable of Edinburgh, but at most of the great meetings and parties that took place throughout Scotland; and in several instances he was summoned to England. No expense deterred individuals or public bodies from availing themselves of his services; and it appears from his memorandum books, that parties frequently paid him from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas, for attending at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, &c. with his band. One of the first objects in the formation of fashionable parties, was to ascertain if Gow was disengaged, and they would be fixed, postponed, or altered, to suit his leisure and convenience. He visited London frequently, although he resisted many invitations to settle there permanently. In the year 1797, when in London, the late duke of Gordon, then Marquis of Huntly, got up a fashionable ball for him, which was so well attended, that after paying all expenses, £130 was handed over to Mr Gow. He was in the habit, too, during every visit to the capital, of being honoured by invitations to the private parties of his late majesty, George IV., when prince of Wales and prince regent; on which occasions he joined that prince, who was a respectable violoncello player, in the performance of concerted pieces of the most esteemed composers. In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Gow was summoned, with a select portion of the musical talent of Edinburgh, to Dalkeith palace, and the king evinced his enduring recollection of the musician's visits to him in London, by quitting the banquet table to speak to him; ordering at the same time a goblet of generous wine to the musician, and expressing the delight he experienced not only on that, but many former occasions, in listening to his performances. Gow was overcome by his majesty's familiar address, and all he could do was to mutter in a choked manner, "God bless your majesty." At the peers' ball, and the Caledonian Hunt ball, his majesty took pleasure in expressing the satisfaction he derived from Gow's music; so that when the latter rendered his account for his band, he added, "my own trouble at pleasure, or nothing, as his majesty's approbation more than recompensed me."

Gow had an annual ball at Edinburgh during all the time he was leader of the bands; and, until a few years before his retirement, these were attended by all the fashion and wealth of the country, there being frequently above one thousand in the room, many of whom, who were his patrons, did not stint their contributions to the mere price of their tickets. He received, besides, many compliments beyond the mere charge for professional labour. At his ball in 1811, the late earl of Dalhousie, who was his staunch supporter on all occasions, presented him with a massive silver goblet, accompanied by the following note:—"An old friend of Gow's requests his acceptance of a cup, in which to drink the health of the thousands who would wish, but cannot attend him to-night." He was presented with a fine violoncello by Sir Peter Murray of Ochertyre, and a valuable Italian violin by the late Sir Alexander Don.

While his evenings were occupied at the parties of the great, his days were not spent in idleness. He had as his pupils the children of the first families in



the country, for the violin and piano-forte accompaniment; from whom he received the highest rate of fees known at the time; indeed, it appears from his books, that at one time he went once a week to the duke of Buccleugh's at Dalkeith palace, a distance of only six miles, and received two guineas each lesson, besides travelling expenses.

Although engaged, as already said, in the most extensively patronized musical establishment in Scotland, it is questionable if he ever at any time realized profit from it, while it is certain, that towards the close he was a great loser; indeed, it can seldom be otherwise where the proprietor has other avocations, and leaves the management to his servants. But from his balls, teaching, and playing, the emoluments he derived were very great, and he was at one time worth upwards of £20,000; but this was ultimately swept away, and he was forced, while prostrated by a malady from which he never recovered, to appeal to his old patrons and the public for their support, at a ball for his behoof in March, 1827, which he did by the following circular: "When I formerly addressed my kind patrons and the public, I had no other claim than that which professional men generally have, whose exertions are devoted to the public amusement. By a patronage the most unvarying and flattering, I was placed in a situation of comfortable independence, and I looked forward without apprehension, to passing the decline of my days in the bosom of my family, with competence and with happiness. Unfortunately for me, circumstances have changed. By obligations for friends, and losses in trade, my anxious savings have been gradually wasted, till now, when almost bed-ridden, unable to leave my house, or to follow my profession, I am forced to surrender the remnant of my means to pay my just and lawful creditors. In this situation some generous friends have stepped forward and persuaded me, that the recollection of my former efforts to please, may not be so entirely effaced, as to induce the public to think that my day of distress should pass without notice, or without sympathy."

The appeal was not in vain—the ball was crowded, and handsome tokens of remembrance were sent by many of his old friends, so that nearly £300 was produced. The ball was continued annually for three years afterwards, and though not so great as the first, they still yielded sufficient to prove the deep sympathy of the public, and to afford him a consolation and support in his hour of trial and sickness. It should not be omitted, that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, who had, during all his career, been his warmest patrons, voted fifty pounds per annum to him during his life; and we will be forgiven for lengthening this detail a little, by quoting one letter out of the many hundreds received, which was from his ever-generous friend Mr Maule of Panmure: "Your letter has given me real uneasiness, but although Scotland forgot itself in the case of Burns, I hope the present generation will not allow a Gow to suffer for the want of those comforts in his old age, to which his exertions for so many years for their amusement and instruction, so well entitle him. My plan is this, that an annuity of £200, should be got by subscription, and if the duke of Athol, lords Breadalbane, Kinnoul, and Gray, (all Perthshire noblemen,) would put their names at the top of the list, it would very soon be filled up; this in addition to an annual ball at Edinburgh, which ought to produce at least £200 more, would still be but a moderate recompense for the constant zeal, attention, and civility, which you have shown in the service of the public of Scotland during a long period of years. I, for one, shall do my part, because I never can forget the many happy hours I have passed, enlivened by the addition of your incomparable music." The subscription did not take place, but Mr Maule did *his part* indeed, for every year brought a kind letter and a substantial accompaniment.

In estimating the professional character of Nathaniel Gow, it will be more just to his memory to consider his merits in that department which he made his peculiar province, than as a general musician; for although he was well acquainted with the compositions of the great masters, and joined in their performance, and taught them to his pupils, yet his early aspirations, and his more mature delight and study, were directed to the national music of Scotland. As a performer he had all the fire and spirit of his celebrated father in the quick music, with more refined taste, delicacy, and clearness of intonation in the slow and plaintive melodies. To an equally fine ear, and deep feeling of the beauties and peculiarities of Scottish melody, he added the advantages of a more general cultivation of musical knowledge, with more varied and frequent opportunities of hearing the most classical compositions, executed by the most able performers. These, while they did not tempt him to sacrifice any of the character or simplicity of his native music, enabled him to give a taste and finish to the execution of it, which placed him, by general and ungrudging consent, as the master spirit of that branch or department which he had selected, and in which, for a long course of years, he walked in unapproachable triumph. There are many living contemporaries to whom less than even the little we have said, will be necessary to make them concur in this statement; those who never listened to his playing, can only be referred to the universal subjugation of the world of fashion, taste, and pleasure, to his sway for so long a period, as a pretty certain testimony in support of our humble opinion.

As a composer, his works remain to support his claims. He has published in his collections, and in sheets, upwards of two hundred original melodies and dancing tunes, and left nearly a hundred in manuscript; which, along with his more recent collections, became the property of Messrs Robertson of Prince's Street, Edinburgh. Of these we may only refer to a very few—his "Caller Herring," which was so much admired, that it was printed in London, and imitated by celebrated composers—"Sir George Clerk," and "Lady Charlotte Durham," as specimens of his slow compositions,—and to "the Miller of Drone," "Largo's Fairy Dance," and "Mrs Wemyss of Castlehill," to which last air the song of "St Patrick was a Gentleman," is sung, as specimens of his lively pieces. There are many of our finest melodies, of which the composers are *unknown*; but we are persuaded that few will contradict us when we say, that from the number and talent of his compositions, no *known* Scottish composer, not even his celebrated father, can contest the palm with him, as the largest and ablest contributor to the already great stock of our national music.

Independently of these, he has claims upon our gratitude, not only for perpetuating, in his very ample collections, so large a proportion of the scattered gems of national music; but for giving it, during his whole career, such prevalence and eclat, by his admirable execution, and constant encouragement, and exhibition of its spirit and beauty to the public. In all these respects he is entitled to the first praise as its greatest conservator and promoter. It is no doubt true, that of late years the introduction of foreign music and dances, has for a time neutralized his exertions, and kept somewhat in abeyance the native relish for our own music and dancing. But there are such germs of beauty in the former, and such spirit and character in the latter, that we have little fear of their being soon revived, and replaced in all their wonted freshness and hilarity in their proper station among our national amusements. It is painful to hear some of the young ladies at our parties, reddening with a kind of horror at being asked to join in a reel or country dance, and simpering out, "I can't dance reels—they're vulgar;" at the same time that their attempts at the foreign dances are perhaps little superior to the jolting pirouettes of stuffed dolls,

or pasteboard automations in a raree show. How different from the time when the first nobles in the land were proud when a reel or strathspey was named after them, and would pay considerable sums for the composition. We have before us a letter of the late duke of Buccleugh to Nathaniel Gow, in which he says—"I wish that at your leisure you would compose [start not, gentle misses!] a *reel* according to the *old style*. It should be *wild*, such as your father would have liked—*highland*,—call it 'the Border Raid;'" and we are happy to learn that the present duke and duchess encourage the resumption of our national dances, whenever they have an opportunity. The neglect of them has no way improved the openness and cheerfulness of our female character.

Nathaniel Gow was a man of great shrewdness and good understanding—generally of a lively companionable turn, with a good deal of humour—very courteous in his manners; though, especially latterly, when misfortune and disease had soured him, a little hasty in his temper. He was a dutiful and affectionate son, as his father's letters abundantly prove—a kind brother, having resigned his share of his father's succession to his sister, who wanted it more than he did at the time; and indulgent and faithful in his duties to his own family. In his person he was tall and "buidly"—and he dressed well, which, added to a degree of courtliness of manner on occasions of ceremony, gave him altogether a respectable and stately appearance. His illness came to a crisis in the beginning of 1831, and finally terminated in his death, on the 17th of January of that year, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard; but no stone points out to the stranger where the Scottish minstrel sleeps.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Janet Fraser, he had five daughters and one son, of whom two of the daughters only survive—Mary, married to Mr Jenkins of London; and Jessie, to Mr Luke, treasurer of George Heriot's Hospital. By his second wife, Mary Hog, to whom he was married in 1814, he had three sons and two daughters, only two of whom survived him—namely, John, who was educated in Heriot's Hospital; and Augusta, who became a teacher of music in Edinburgh, after having undergone five years' training in London. A spirited likeness of Mr Gow was painted by Mr John Syme of Edinburgh, which, with the portrait of his father Neil, the Dalhousie Goblet, and small kit fiddle, are in the possession of Mrs Luke.

GOW, NEIL, a celebrated violin player and composer of Scottish airs, was the son of John Gow and Catharine M'Ewan, and was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 22d of March, 1727. He was intended by his parents for the trade of a plaid weaver, but discovering an early propensity for music, he began the study of the violin himself, and soon abandoned the shuttle for the bow. Up to the age of thirteen he had no instructor; but about that time he availed himself of some lessons from John Cameron, a follower of the house of Grandtully, and soon placed himself at the head of all the performers in the country; although Perthshire then produced more able reel and strathspey players than any other county in Scotland. Before he reached manhood, he had engaged in a public competition there, and carried off the prize, which was decided by an aged and blind, but skilful minstrel, who, in awarding it, said, that "he could distinguish the *stroke of Neil's bow* among a hundred players." This ascendancy he ever after maintained, not only in his native place, but throughout Scotland, where it has been universally admitted that, as a reel and strathspey player, he had no superior, and, indeed, no rival in his own time.

Neil Gow was the first of his family, so far as is known, who rendered the name celebrated in our national music; but his children afterwards proved that

in their case at any rate, genius and talent were hereditary. Although Neil was born, and lived the whole of a long life in a small village in the Highlands of Perthshire, with no ambition for the honours and advancement which, in general, are only to be obtained by a residence in great cities; and although he was in a manner a self-taught artist, and confined his labours chiefly to what may be considered a subordinate branch of the profession of music; yet he acquired a notoriety and renown beyond what was destined to many able and scientific professors, of whom hundreds have flourished and been forgotten since his time, while his name continues, especially in Scotland, familiar as a household word.

Many causes contributed to this. The chief ones, no doubt, were his unquestioned skill in executing the national music of Scotland, and the genius he displayed in the composition of a great number of beautiful melodies. But these were enhanced in no small degree by other accessory causes. There was a peculiar spirit, and Celtic character and enthusiasm, which he threw into his performances, and which distinguished his bow amid the largest band. His appearance, too, was prepossessing—his countenance open, honest, and pleasing—his figure compact and manly, which was shown to advantage in the tight tartan knee-breeches and hose, which he always wore. There was also an openness and eccentricity in his manner, which, while it was homely, easy, and unaffected, was at the same time characterised by great self-possession and downrightness, and being accompanied by acute penetration into the character and peculiarities of others, strong good sense, and considerable quaintness and humour, and above all, by a perfect honesty and integrity of thought and action, placed him on a footing of familiarity and independence in the presence of the proudest of the land, which, perhaps, no one in his situation ever attained, either before or since. Many who never heard him play, and who are even unacquainted with his compositions, fired by the accounts of those who lived in his time, talk to this day of Neil Gow as if they had tripped a thousand times to his spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring strains.

Living in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkeld house, he was early noticed and distinguished by the duke of Athol and his family, which was soon followed by the patronage of the duchess of Gordon, and the principal nobility and gentry throughout Scotland. But while his permanent residence was at Inver, near Dunkeld, he was not only employed at all the balls and fashionable parties in the county, but was in almost constant requisition at the great parties which took place at Perth, Cupar, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and the principal towns in Scotland. So necessary was he on such occasions, and so much was his absence felt, that at one time, when indisposition prevented him attending the Cupar Hunt, the presses called on every lady and gentleman present to "dedicate a bumper to the better health of Neil Gow, a true Scottish character, whose absence from the meeting, no one could sufficiently regret." We have already said, that he lived on terms of great familiarity with his superiors, in whose presence he spoke his mind and cracked his jokes, unawed by either their rank or wealth—indeed, they generally delighted in drawing out his homely, forcible, and humorous observations; and while he, in turn, allowed all good humoured freedoms with himself, he at the same time had sufficient independence to repel any undue exhibition of aristocratic *hauteur*, and has brought the proud man to his cottage with the white flag of peace and repentance, before he would again consent to "wake the minstrel string" in his halls. With the duke of Athol and his family, a constant, kindly, and familiar intercourse was kept up; indeed, so much did the duke keep his rank in abeyance when Neil was concerned, that, when the latter was sitting for his portrait to the late Sir

Henry Raeburn, his grace would accompany him to the sitting, and on leaving the artist, would proceed arm in arm with the musician through Edinburgh, as unreservedly as he would with one of the noble blood of Hamilton or Argyle. The duke and duchess walked one day with Neil to Stanley hill, in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, when his grace began pushing and struggling with him in a sportive humour, until the latter at last fairly tumbled down the "brae." The duchess running to him, expressed her hope that he was not hurt, to which he answered, "Naething to speak o',—I was the mair idiot to wrestle wi' sic a fule!" at which they both laughed heartily. The duke, lord Lyndoch, and the late lord Melville, one day calling at Neil's house, were pressed to take some shrub. Lord Melville tasted it, and was putting down the glass, when his host said, "ye maun tak' it out, my lord, it's very good, and came frae my son Nathaniel—I ken ye're treasurer o' the navy, but gin ye were treasurer o' the universe, ye maunna leave a drap." The duke at the same time smelling his glass before he drank it, Neil said, "ye need na put it to your nose; ye have na better in your ain cellar, for Nathaniel sends me naething but the best." Being one day at Dunkeld house, lady Charlotte Drummond sat down to the piano-forte, when Neil said to the duchess, "that lassie o' yours, my leddy, has a gude ear." A gentleman present said, "I thought Neil you had more manners than to call her grace's daughter a lassie." To which our musician replied, "What wud I ca' her? I never heard she was a laddie;" which, while it more astonished the gentleman, highly amused the noble parties themselves. On another occasion in Athol house, after supper was announced, a portion of the fashionable party lingered in the ball room, unwilling to forsake the dance. Neil, who felt none of the fashionable indifference about supper and its accompaniments, soon lost patience, and addressing himself to the ladies, cried out, "Gang down to your supper, ye daft limmers, and dinna haud me reelin' here, as if hunger and drouth were unkent in the land—a body can get naething dune for you." These sayings are not repeated so much to support any claim to humour, as to illustrate the license which his reputation, popularity, and honest bluntness of character procured him among the highest of the land.

When at home, during the intervals of his professional labours, he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county, as well as by strangers, whose curiosity was excited by the notoriety of his character. They would remain for hours with him, in unconstrained conversation, and partaking of whisky and honey, commonly called Athol brose, or whatever else was going. The late Mr Graham of Orchill, used to sit up whole nights with Neil Gow, playing reels with him, and on one occasion Neil exclaimed, "Troth, Orchill, you play weel;—be thankfu', if the French should overturn our country, you and I can win our bread, which is mair than mony o' the great folk can say." On one occasion, when the duchess of Gordon called for him, she complained of a giddiness and swimming in her head, on which he said, "Faith, I ken something o' that mysel', your grace; when I've been fou the night afore, ye wad think that a biko o' bees were bizzing in my bonnet, the next mornin'."

In travelling he was frequently spoken to by strangers, to whom description had made his dress and appearance familiar. At Hamilton, once, he was accosted by two gentlemen, who begged to know his name, which having told them, they immediately said, "Oh! you are the very man we have come from — to see." "Am I," replied Neil, "by my saul, ye're the mair fules; I wadna gang half sae far to see you." On another occasion, when crossing in one of the passage boats from Kirkaldy to Leith, several gentlemen entered into conversation with him, and being strangers, instead of Neil, as was usual, they always addressed him as *Master Gow*. When about to land, the Dunkeld carrier,

happening to be on the pier, said, "Ou, Neil, is this you?" "Whisht man," answered Neil, with a sly expression, "let me land or ye ca' me Neil; I hae got naething but *Maister a'* the way o'er."

There are few professions where persons are more exposed or tempted to habits of indulgence in liquor, than those whose calling it is to minister music to the midnight and morning revel. The fatigue of playing for hours in crowded and heated rooms—at those times, too, which are usually devoted to sleep—requires stimulants; and not a few have fallen victims to habits acquired in such situations. But, though exposed to these temptations as much as any man ever was, Neil Gow was essentially sober and temperate. He never indulged in un-mixed spirits, and when at home, without company, seldom took any drink but water. At the same time, he was of a social disposition, and delighted in the interchange of friendly and hospitable intercourse; and it befits not the truth of our chronicle to deny, that prudence, though often a conqueror, did not on every occasion gain the race with good fellowship, or in plain words, that Neil did not find at the close of some friendly sederunts, "the maut aboon the meal." At least we would infer as much, from an anecdote that has been told of him.—Returning pretty early one morning from Ruthven Works, where he had been attending a yearly ball, he was met with his fiddle under his arm, near the bridge of Almond, by some of his friends who lamented *the length of the road* he had to walk to Inver, when Neil exclaimed, "Deil may care for the *length o'* the road, it's only the *breadth o't* that's fashin' me now." It was, perhaps, with reference to the same occasion, that a friend said to him, "I suspect Neil, ye've been the waur o' drink." "The waur o' drink?" responded the musician, "na! na, I may have been fou, but I ne'er was the waur o't." His son Nathaniel frequently sent him presents of shrub and ale. In acknowledging one of them, he wrote, "I received the box and twenty bottles of ale, which is not good,—more *hop* than faith—too strong o' the water, &c. My compliments to Meg, and give her a guinea, and ask her which of the two she would accept of first."

He was a man most exemplary in all the private relations of life—a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous friend. In more cases than one, he refused lands which were offered to him at a trifling purchase, and which would have been worth thousands to his successors, and chose the more disinterested part, of giving money to the unfortunate owners to enable them to purchase their lands back. He not only had religion in his heart, but was scrupulous in his external observances. He was constant in his attendance at divine worship, and had family prayers evening and morning in his own house. In regard to his private character altogether, we may quote from a very elegant biographical sketch from the pen of Dr Macknight, who knew him well, and which appeared in the Scots Magazine in 1809. "His moral and religious principles were originally correct, rational, and heartfelt, and they were never corrupted. His duty in the domestic relations of life, he uniformly fulfilled with exemplary fidelity, generosity, and kindness. In short, by the general integrity, prudence, and propriety of his conduct, he deserved, and he lived and died possessing as large a portion of respect from his equals, and of good will from his superiors, as has ever fallen to the lot of any man of his rank."

In a professional point of view, Neil Gow is to be judged according to circumstances. He never had the advantage of great masters, and indeed was almost entirely self-taught. It would be idle to inquire what he might have been had he devoted himself to the science as a study. He did not, so far as is known, attempt the composition of difficult or concerted pieces; and it is believed, did not do much even in the way of arrangement to his own melodies.

He was one of nature's musicians, and confined himself to what genius can conceive and execute, without the intervention of much science—the composition of melodies: and, after all, melody is the true test of musical genius;—no composition, however philosophical, learned and elaborate, can live, if it wants its divine inspiration, and the science of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart would not have rescued their names from oblivion, had the soul of melody not sparkled like a gem through all the cunning framework and arrangement of their noble compositions. He composed a great number of tunes, nearly a hundred of which are to be found in the collections published by his son Nathaniel at Edinburgh. The greater portion of them are of a lively character, and suited for dancing, such as reels, strathspeys, and quick steps. It would not be interesting in a notice like this to enumerate the titles of so many compositions; but we may safely refer to the beautiful air of “Locherroch side,” to which Burns wrote his pathetic ballad of “Oh! stay, sweet warbling woodlark, stay,” and which is equally effective as a quick dancing tune—to the “Lament for Abercainy,” and his “Farewell to Whisky”—as specimens which entitled him to take his place among the best known composers of Scottish music, which our country has produced.

As a performer of Scottish music on the violin, we have already said that he was acknowledged to have been the ablest of his day; and we cannot do better than once more quote from the biographic sketch written by Dr M'Knight, himself a skilful violinist, and who frequently heard Neil play, to illustrate the peculiar character of his style: “There is perhaps no species whatever of music executed on the violin, in which the characteristic expression depends more on the power of the *bow*, particularly in what is called the *upward* or *returning stroke*, than the Highland reel. Here accordingly was Gow's forte. His bow-hand, as a suitable instrument of his genius, was uncommonly powerful; and when the note produced by the *up-bow* was often feeble and indistinct in other hands, it was struck in his playing, with a strength and certainty, which never failed to surprise and delight the skilful hearer. As an example, may be mentioned his manner of striking the tenor C, in ‘Athol House.’ To this extraordinary power of the bow, in the hand of great original genius, must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music, and the native highland *gout* of certain tunes, such as ‘Tulloch Gorum,’ in which his taste and style of bowing could never be exactly reached by any other performer. We may add, the effect of the *sudden shout*, with which he frequently accompanied his playing in the quick tunes, and which seemed instantly to *electrify* the dancers; inspiring them with new life and energy, and rousing the spirits of the most inanimate. Thus it has been well observed, ‘the violin in his hands, sounded like the harp of Ossian, or the lyre of Orpheus,’ and gave reality to the poetic fictions, which describe the astonishing effects of their performance.”

Such was the estimation in which Neil Gow was held, that the late Sir Henry Raeburn, the most eminent portrait painter then in Scotland, was employed first to paint his portrait for the county hall of Perth, and afterwards, separate portraits for the duke of Athol, lord Gray, and the honourable Mr Maule of Panmure, besides his portrait, now in possession of his grand-daughter Mrs Luke, and many copies scattered through the country. His portrait has also been introduced into the “View of a Highland Wedding,” by the late Mr Allan, along with an admirable likeness of his brother Donald, who was his steady and constant violoncello.

Neil Gow was twice married—first to Margaret Wiseman, by whom he had five sons, and three daughters. Of these, three sons, and two daughters died

before himself, but not before two of his sons, William and Andrew, had acquired a reputation as violin-players, worthy of the name they bore; the former having succeeded M'Glashan as leader of the fashionable bands at Edinburgh, and the latter having acquired some wealth in London in prosecuting his profession. He was kind and affectionate to all his children, and during the last illness of his son Andrew, he brought him from London. On this subject he wrote, "If the spring were a little advanced and warmer, I would have Andrew come down by sea, and I will come to Edinburgh or Dundee to conduct him home. We will have milk which he can get warm from the cow, or fresh butter, or whey, or chickens. He shall not want for any thing." Andrew's eyes were closed by his father under the roof where he was born. Neil Gow took as his second wife Margaret Urquhart, by whom he had no family, and who predeceased himself a few years. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year or two of his death. About two years before that event, he seemed to feel the decay of his powers, and wrote to his son Nathaniel—"I received your kind invitation to come over to you, but I think I will stay where I am. It will not be long, for I am very sore failed." He died at Inver, where he was born, on the 1st of March, 1807, in the 80th year of his age, after acquiring a competence, which was divided among his children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter: John, who settled in London as leader of the fashionable Scottish bands, and died in 1827, after acquiring a large fortune; Nathaniel, who settled in Edinburgh, and of whom we have given a brief memoir; and Margaret, now the only surviving child, who is at present living in Edinburgh. Neil Gow was buried in Little Dunkeld church, where a marble tablet has been raised to his memory by his sons, John and Nathaniel.

GRAHAM, DOUGAL, the rhyming chronicler of the last rebellion, was probably born early in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, none of the works we have met with give any account of his parentage or early life. It has been said that he was engaged in the rebellion of 1745-46, but without sufficient authority. He had, to use his own words, "been an eye-witness to most of the movements of the *armies*, from the rebels' first crossing the ford of Frew, to their final defeat at Culloden;" but it would seem from this expression, as well as from the recollections of some of his acquaintances, that it was only in the capacity of a follower, who supplied the troops with small wares. But Dougal's aspiring mind aimed at a higher and nobler employment,—the cultivation of the muse; and no sooner was the rebellion terminated by the battle of Culloden, than he determined to write a history of it "in vulgar rhyme." Accordingly, the Glasgow Courant of September 29, 1746, contains the following advertisement: "That there is to be sold by James Duncan, printer in Glasgow, in the Salt-Mercat, the second shop below Gibson's Wynd, a book entitled, A full, particular, and true account of the late rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's embarking for Scotland, and then an account of every battle, siege, and skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England: to which is added, several addresses and epistles to the pope, pagans, poets, and pretender, all in metre, price fourpence. But any booksellers or packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the author, D. Graham. The like," the advertisement concludes, "has not been done in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay!" This edition is now to be procured *nec prece nec pecunia*; the eighth edition, however, contains a preface by the author, in which he thus states his reasons for undertaking so arduous a task. "First, then, I have an itch for scribbling, and having wrote the following for my pleasure, I had an ambition to have this child



of mine placed out in the world ; expecting, if it should thrive and do well, it might bring credit or comfort to the parent. For it is my firm opinion, that parental affection is as strong towards children of the brain as those produced by natural generation."—"I have wrote it in vulgar rhyme, being what not only pleased my own fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my countrymen, especially to those of common education like myself. If I have done well, it is what I should like, and if I have failed, it is what mankind are liable to. Therefore let cavilers *rather write a better one*, than pester themselves and the public with their criticisms of my faults." Dougal's history has been on some occasions spoken of with contempt,—and, as it appears to us, rather undeservedly. The poetry is, of course, in some cases a little grotesque, but *the matter* of the work is in many instances valuable. It contains, and in this consists the chief value of all such productions, many minute facts which a work of more pretension would not admit. But the best proof of its popularity is, that it has run through many editions: the eighth, which is now scarce, was printed at Glasgow in 1808, with a "True Portraiture" of the author. Beneath it are the lines :

" From brain and pen, O virtue! drop ;  
Vice! fly as Charlie and John Cope!"

As the book became known, Dougal issued editions "greatly enlarged and improved." That of 1774, while it contains many additions, is said to want much of the curious matter in the *editio princeps*.

In 1752, Graham styles himself "merchant in Glasgow," but it would appear that his wealth had not increased with his fame :

" I have run my money to en'  
And have nouthar paper nor pen  
To write thir lines."

Afterwards he became a printer ; and it has been affirmed, that, like Buchan, the chronicler of Peterhead, he used to compose and set up his works without ever committing them to writing.<sup>1</sup> The exact date at which he became bellman is not known, but it must have been after 1770. At this time, the situation was one of some dignity and importance : the posting of handbills and the publishing of advertisements were not quite so common ; and whether a child had "wandered,"—"salmon, herring, cod, or ling" had arrived at the Broomielaw,—or the grocers had received a new supply of "cheap butter, barley, cheese, and veal," the matter could only be proclaimed by the mouth of the public crier.

After several years of, it may be supposed, extensive usefulness in this capacity, Dougal was gathered to his fathers on the 20th of July, 1779. An elegy upon the death of that "witty poet and bellman," written with some spirit, and in the same verse as Ferguson's elegy upon Gregory, and that of Burns upon "Tam Samson," was published soon after. We may be allowed to sum up his character in the words of its author :

" It is well known unto his praise,  
He well deserv'd the poet's bays ;  
So sweet were his harmonious lays :  
Loud sounding fame  
Alone can tell, how all his days  
He bore that name,

<sup>1</sup> M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, new ed. p. 315.

Of witty jokes he had such store,  
 Johnson could not have pleased you more,  
 Or with loud laughter made you roar,  
     As he could do;  
 He had still something ne'er before  
     Expos'd to view.

Besides his history, Dougal wrote many other poems and songs, some of which, though little known, are highly graphic. They would form a pretty large volume, but it is hardly probable that in this fastidious age any attempt will be made to collect them.

GRAHAME, (REV.) JAMES, the author of "The Sabbath" and other poems, was born in Glasgow on the 22d of April, 1785. He was the son of Mr Thomas Grahame, writer in that city, a gentleman at the head of the legal profession there, and who held a high place in the esteem of his fellow citizens for strict integrity and many amiable qualities. His mother was a woman of very uncommon understanding; and it may be well supposed, that the young bard owed much of that amiable disposition which distinguished him in after-life, to the mild and benevolent tuition of his parents. From them also he imbibed those ultra-liberal opinions on politics, which, on the first breaking out of the French revolution of 1789, found so many supporters in this country, and which Mr Grahame no doubt adopted under a sincere impression that the diffusion of such opinions was likely to benefit the human race. He was educated at the grammar school and university of Glasgow. At this time his father possessed a beautiful villa on the romantic banks of the Cart, near Glasgow, to which the family removed during the summer months; and it is pleasing to remark the delight with which James Grahame, in after years, looked back upon the youthful days spent there. In the "Birds of Scotland," we have the following pleasing remembrances, which show that these days were still green in his memory:

I love thee, pretty bird! for 'twas thy nest  
 Which first, unhelped by older eyes, I found;  
 The very spot I think I new behold!  
 Forth from my low-roofed home I wandered hither  
 Down to thy side, sweet Cart, where cross the stream  
 A range of stones, below a shallow ford,  
 Stood in the place of the now-spanning arch;  
 Up from that ford a little bank there was,  
 With alder copse and willow overgrown,  
 Now worn away by mining winter floods;  
 There, at a bramble root, sunk in the grass,  
 The hidden prize, of withered field-straws formed,  
 Well lined with many a coil of hair and moss,  
 And in it laid five red-veined spheres, I found.

James Grahame eminently distinguished himself both at school and college; and we have an early notice of his poetical genius having displayed itself in some Latin verses, which, considering his age, were thought remarkable for their elegance. At this period he was noted among his companions for the activity of his habits, and the frolicsome gayety of his disposition; his character, however, seems to have undergone a change, and his constitution to have received a shock, in consequence of a blow inflicted in wantonness on the back of his head, which ever afterwards entailed upon him occasional attacks of headache and stupor; and there seems to be little doubt, that this blow was ultimately the cause of his death. After passing through a regular academical course of edu-

cation at the university of Glasgow, during which he attended a series of lectures delivered by the celebrated professor Millar, whose opinions on politics were by no means calculated to alter these which his pupil had derived from his father, he was removed to Edinburgh, in the year 1784, where he commenced the study of law under the tuition of his cousin, Mr Laurence Hill, writer to the signet. This was a destination wholly foreign to his character and inclination; his own wishes would have led him to the clerical profession, which was more congenial to his tastes than the busy-turmoil of legal avocations; but young Grahame passively acquiesced in the arrangement which his father had made, more from considerations connected with his own means of advancing him in the legal profession, than from regard to the peculiarities of his son's disposition and character.

After having finished his apprenticeship, he was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, in the year 1791. His prospects of success in business were very considerable, in consequence of the influence possessed by his father, and his other relations; but the death of his father towards the close of the year 1791, seems to have freed him from the restraint which bound him to his profession, and he resumed his original desire of entering the church. For a time, however, the persuasion of his friends induced him to relinquish his intention of changing his profession; and, at length, in the year 1795, in the hope that the avocations of the bar would prove more congenial to his taste, and allow him, during the vacations, greater leisure to indulge his literary propensities, than the more irksome details of the other branch of the profession, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates.

James Grahame, while yet at the university, printed and circulated among his friends a collection of poetical pieces. Of this work no trace is now left except in the memory of the members of his own family, and it is only curious as it seems to have contained a rough draught of those sketches which he afterwards published under the title of the "Rural Calendar." It was in the year 1797, that these pieces appeared in their amended form. Being on a visit to a friend in Kelso when the "Kelso Mail" was commenced, he contributed them anonymously to that newspaper; he afterwards published them, greatly enlarged and improved, in the 12mo edition of his works, in 1807. In the year 1801, he published a dramatic poem, entitled, "Mary, Queen of Scotland;" but his talents were by no means dramatic; and although this production was a great favourite of his own, it is only deserving of attention as containing some beautiful descriptive passages.

In the year 1802, Mr Grahame was married to Miss Grahame, eldest daughter of Richard Grahame, Esq., Annan, a woman of masculine understanding and very elegant accomplishments. She at first endeavoured to discourage her husband's poetical propensities, from the idea that they interfered with his professional duties; but on the discovery that he was the author of the Sabbath, she no longer attempted, or wished, to oppose the original bias of his mind. The Sabbath was published not only anonymously, but the poet even concealed its existence from his dearest relations. The mode which he took to communicate it to his wife presents a very pleasing picture of his diffident and amiable disposition. In relating this anecdote, we shall use the words of one who was very intimate with the poet and his family. "On its publication he brought the book home with him, and left it on the parlour table. Returning soon after he found Mrs Grahame engaged in its perusal; but without venturing to ask her opinion, he continued to walk up and down the room in breathless anxiety, till she burst out in the warmest eulogium on the performance; adding 'Ah James, if you could but produce a poem like this.' The acknowledg-

ment of the authorship, and the pleasure of making the disclosure under such circumstances, may be easily imagined." The Sabbath was subjected to a severe ordeal of criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*; but the critic afterwards made ample atonement to the wounded feelings of the poet and his friends, in reviewing his subsequent work, the *British Georgics*—an example which one cannot but wish that Lord Byron had imitated, by expressing some contrition for the wanton and cruel attack made in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* on the gentle and amiable poet of the Sabbath.

About the year 1806, Mr Grahame published a well written pamphlet on the subject of the introduction of jury trial in civil causes in Scotland, entitled "*Thoughts on Trial by Jury*." This was a favourite project of his party in politics, about the beginning of the present century; and during the whig administration of 1806-7, a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry for the purpose of extending that mode of trial to Scotland. That bill fell, on the change of administration; but some years afterwards, a bill having the same object was carried through parliament by the succeeding administration; and in 1816, jury trial in civil causes was introduced under certain modifications, and has since been made a permanent part of the civil judicial procedure in this country.

But for the bad health to which he was occasionally subject, Mr Grahame might have enjoyed much happiness, surrounded as he was by his family, to whom he was devotedly attached, and mixing during the winter months on familiar terms with the intellectual and polished society which Edinburgh at all times affords, and which, at the time alluded to, was peculiarly brilliant; while, to vary the scene, he usually spent the summer either at Kirkhill, on the banks of the Esk, or at some other rural retirement. It was at Kirkhill, surrounded with some of the loveliest scenery in Scotland, that he composed "*The Birds of Scotland*." But in spite of the happiness which such a state of literary ease was calculated to afford, Mr Grahame still looked with longing to the condition of a country clergyman—a vocation which his imagination had invested with many charms. The authority already referred to mentions a circumstance strongly indicative of the constant current of his thoughts:—"The writer will never forget the eager longing with which he surveyed the humble church of Borthwick, on a fine summer evening, when the sun's last rays had gilded the landscape, and rendered every object in nature more sweet and impressive. He cast a look of delighted complacency around the peaceful scene, and said, with an accent of regret, "I wish such a place as that had fallen to my lot." And when it was remarked, that continued retirement might become wearisome, "Oh! no," he replied, "it would be delightful to live a life of usefulness among a simple people, unmolested with petty cares and ceremonies." At length, yielding to his long cherished wish, he entered holy orders as a clergyman of the church of England. After having spent the summer months of 1808, at a pleasant villa in the neighbourhood of Annan, where he composed "*The British Georgics*," he proceeded to England in the spring following; and after encountering some difficulty, was ordained by Dr Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1809. That good prelate was so much delighted with Mr Grahame, that he was anxious to persuade him to remain in his diocese, but Mr Grahame was prevented from acceding to this request by the prevalence of fever and ague in the district. He resided for some weeks after his ordination at the city of Chester; and there he obtained the curacy of Shefton in Gloucestershire, which he held from July until the month of March in the following year, when he was called to Scotland by family affairs. The accomplishment of his long cherished and ardent desire to

enter the clerical profession, does not seem to have afforded him that full measure of happiness which he anticipated. This was partly to be attributed to broken health; and perhaps, also, to a natural restlessness of disposition, but more particularly to the change having been too long deferred. Indications of this fact may be traced in the following beautiful lines in the *British Georgics*, which show how deeply he loved and how fondly he regretted leaving his native land:

How pleasant came thy rushing, silver Tweed,  
Upon mine ear, when, after roaming long  
In southern plains, I've reach'd thy lovely banks!  
How bright, renowned Sark, thy little stream,  
Like ray of column'd light chasing a shower,  
Would cross my homeward path! how sweet the sounds  
When I, to hear the Doric tongue's reply,  
Would ask thy well-known name.

And must I leave,  
Dear land, thy bonny braes, thy dales,  
Each haunted by its wizard-stream, o'erhung  
With all the varied charms of bush and tree;  
Thy towering hills, the lineament sublime,  
Unchanged, of Nature's face, which wont to fill  
The eye of Wallace, as he musing plann'd  
The grand emprise of setting Scotland free!  
And must I leave the friends of youthful years,  
And mould my heart anew to take the stamp  
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land!  
Yes, I may love the music of strange tongues,  
And mould my heart anew to take the stamp  
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land;  
But to my parched mouth's roof cleave this tongue,  
My fancy fade into the yellow leaf,  
And this oft-pausing heart forget to throb,  
If, Scotland, thee and thine I e'er forget.

On his return to Scotland, he was an unsuccessful candidate for St George's episcopal chapel, Edinburgh. This disappointment was severely felt by his friends, who, fondly attached to him, and admiring him much as a preacher, were exceedingly anxious to have him settled amongst them; but he bore the frustration of his hopes without a murmur. In August, 1810, he was appointed interim curate to the chapelry of St Margaret, Durham, where his eloquence as a preacher quickly collected a crowded congregation; and after having officiated there for a few months, he obtained the curacy of Sedgefield, in the same diocese. Having been affected with oppressive asthma and violent headaches, he was induced to try the effect of a change to his native air; and after spending a few days in Edinburgh with his only surviving sister, Mrs Archibald Grahame, he, along with his wife, who had joined him in Edinburgh, proceeded to Glasgow, where he expired two days after his arrival. He died at Whitehill, the residence of his eldest brother, Mr Robert Grahame of Whitehill, on the 14th of September, 1811, in the forty-seventh year of his age; leaving two sons and a daughter.

The most characteristic feature in the mind of James Grahame, was a keen and refined sensibility, which, while it in some measure incapacitated him for encountering the hardships and enduring the asperities of life, and gave the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, at the same time rendered him sensi-

tively alive to the intellectual pleasures of the world, and shed an amiable purity over his character and manners. It is deeply to be regretted, that the wishes of his father should have thrown an impediment in the way of his embracing, at the outset of life, that profession which was so congenial to the benign gentleness of his disposition. His mild manners and many amiable qualities made a deep impression on all who knew him, while his surviving friends cherish his memory with feelings of the sincerest affection and reverence. Possessed of a pleasing and intellectual fund of conversation, there was about him an infantine simplicity of character, which rendered him alternately the companion of the late Francis Horner, and of Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and of his other distinguished contemporaries, and the delight of his own children, in whose most playful gambols he would often join. His personal appearance was particularly striking; his dark complexion harmonising well with his finely-formed and expressive features, over which there hung a deep shade of languor and pensiveness; his figure was tall, and while discharging the duties of his sacred office, his air and manner were truly apostolic.

GRAHAM, JAMES, the celebrated marquis of Montrose, was born in the year 1619, and succeeded to his father, John, earl of Montrose, in 1626, being then only fourteen years of age. As he was the only son of the family, he was persuaded by his friends to marry soon after, which greatly retarded his education. Preceptors were, however, brought into his house, and by assiduous study he became a tolerable proficient in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he spent some years in the attainment of modern languages, and practising the various exercises then in vogue. He returned to Scotland about the year 1634, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. Being a man of large expectations, and meeting with a reception at court which he considered not equal to his merits, he, on the fifteenth of November, 1637, joined the Tables at Edinburgh, to the great dismay of the bishops; who, according to Guthrie, "thought it time to prepare for a storm, when he engaged."—That the reader may be at no loss to understand our narrative, it may not be improper here to inform him that the Tables were committees for managing the cause of the people in the contest they were at this time engaged in with the court for their religion and liberties:—they were in number four—one for the nobility, another for the gentry, a third for the burghs, a fourth for the ministers; and there was a special one, consisting of delegates from each of the four. The Table of the nobility, we may also remark, consisted of the lords Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and Montrose: the two latter of whom were unquestionably the ablest and probably the most efficient members. In point of zeal, indeed, at this period Montrose seems to have exceeded all his fellows. When Traquair published the king's proclamation approving of the Service Book, Montrose stood not only on the scaffold beside Mr Archibald Johnston, while he read the protestation in name of the Tables, but got up, that he might overlook the crowd, upon the end of a puncheon; which gave occasion to the prophetic jest of Rothes, recorded with solemn gravity by Gordon of Straloch—"James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above your fellows in a rope;—which was afterwards," he adds, "accomplished in earnest in that same place, and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." The Tables having prepared for renewing the national covenant, it was sworn by all ranks, assembled at Edinburgh, on the last of February and first of March, 1638; and, in a short time, generally throughout the kingdom. In this celebrated transaction, Montrose was a leading actor. In preparing, swearing, and imposing the covenant, especially in the last, no man seems to have been more zealous.

In the fullest confidence of his faithfulness and zeal, he had been nominated, along with Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, to proceed to Aberdeen, in order to persuade that refractory city, the only one in the kingdom, to harmonize with the other parts of it; but they made very few converts, and were, upon the whole, treated in no friendly manner. The pulpits of Aberdeen they found universally shut against them; nor even in the open street, did they meet with any thing like a respectful audience. This triumph of the northern episcopalians was carefully reported to Charles by the marquis of Huntly; and the monarch was so much gratified by even this partial success of his favourite system, that, at the very moment when he was showing a disposition to give way to the covenanters, he wrote letters of thanks to the magistrates and doctors, promising them at all times his favour and protection. Montrose soon after returned to Edinburgh, and through the whole of the eventful year 1638, to all appearance acted most cordially in favour of the covenant.

In the beginning of the year 1639, when the covenanters had finally set the king at defiance by abolishing episcopacy, and were preparing to defend their measures by force of arms, Montrose received another commission to visit the Aberdonians, and to provide against the probability of their stirring up an insurrection in the north, when his majesty might be drawing the public attention wholly towards the south. While Montrose was preparing for this expedition, having learned that a meeting of the covenanters in that quarter had been appointed at Tureff, and that Huntly, who had taken possession of Aberdeen, had written to his friends and followers to assemble for the purpose of preventing the meeting, he resolved to protect his friends, and ensure their convocation in spite of Huntly. For this purpose he collected only a few of his friends upon whom he could depend, and by one of those rapid movements by which he was afterwards so much distinguished, led them across that wild mountainous range that divides Angus from Aberdeenshire; and, on the morning of February the 14th, took possession of Tureff, ere one of the opposite party was aware of his having left Angus. Huntly's van, beginning to arrive in the forenoon, were astonished to find the place occupied in a hostile manner, and retired to the Broad Ford of Towie, about two miles to the south of Tureff, where Huntly and his train from Aberdeen shortly after joined them. Here it was debated whether they should advance and attack the place, or withdraw for the present—and being enjoined by his commission from the king to act as yet only on the defensive, Huntly himself dissolved the meeting, though it was upwards of two thousand strong. This formidable array only convinced Montrose that there was no time to lose in preparing to meet it; and hastening next day to his own country, he began to raise and to array troops, according to the commission he held from the Tables. Seconded by the energy and patriotism of the people, his activity was such, that in less than a month he was at the head of a well-appointed army of horse and foot, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood; at the head of which he marched directly north, and on the 29th of March approached the town of Aberdeen. The doctors who had given him so much trouble on his former mission, did not think fit to wait his coming on this occasion; and the pulpits were at the service of any of his followers who chose to occupy them. It is admitted, on all hands, that Montrose on this first visit acted with great moderation. Leaving a garrison in Aberdeen under the earl of Kinghorn, he set out on the 1st of April to meet the marquis of Huntly, who had now dismissed his followers and retired to one of his castles. On the approach of Montrose, Huntly sent his friend, Gordon of Straloch, to meet him, and to propose an armistice; and for this purpose a meeting took place between the parties at the village of Lowess, about midway be-

tween Aberdeen and the castle of Strathbogie. The stipulations under which this meeting took place were strongly characteristic of a semi-barbarous state of society. Each of the parties was to be accompanied by eleven followers, and those armed only with swords. Each party, too, before meeting, sent an advance guard to search the other, in case any of the parties might have forgotten or overlooked this so far pacific arrangement. After considerable time spent in rather passionate conversation, it was agreed between them, that Montrose should march his army from Inverury, where it was now encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested. Guthrie affirms that Huntly subscribed a writ substantially the same with the covenant. Other writers contradict this, and say that he only signed a bond of maintenance, as it was called, obliging himself to maintain the king's authority, and the laws and religion at that time established, which indeed appears substantially the same with the covenant; though the phrase "established religion" was somewhat equivocal, and probably was the salvo, on this occasion, of the marquis's conscience. Montrose, on his return to Aberdeen, without any of the formalities of moral suasion, imposed the covenant, at the point of the sword, upon the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, who very generally accepted it, as there was no other way in which they could escape the outrages of the soldiery. As a contribution might have been troublesome to uplift, a handsome subsidy of ten thousand merks from the magistrates was accepted as an equivalent. This is the only instance with which we are acquainted, in which the covenant was really forced upon conscientious recusants at the sword's point; and it is worthy of remark, that the agent in the compulsion was one of the most idolized of the opposite party. Having thus, as he supposed, completely quieted the country, Montrose gave it in charge to the Frasers and the Forbesees, and on the 13th of April, marched for Edinburgh with his whole army, leaving the Aberdonians, though they had put on a show of conformity, more exasperated against the covenanters than ever. Scarcely had the army left the city, than, to testify their contempt and hatred of their late guests, the ladies began to dress up their dogs with collars of blue ribbons, calling them, in derision, covenanters, a joke for which they were, in the sequel, amply repaid.

In the meantime, the preparations of the king were rapidly going forward, and by the first of May the marquis of Hamilton, his lieutenant, entered the Firth of Forth with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, having on board five thousand foot soldiers, and a large quantity of arms. This circumstance had no real effect but to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of the king's cause to all those who witnessed it; yet, operating upon the highly excited feelings of the Gordons, they flew to arms, though they had no proper leader, the marquis of Huntly being by this time a prisoner in Edinburgh castle. Their first movement was an attack, 18th May, upon a meeting of covenanters at Tureff, which, being taken by surprise, was easily dispersed, few persons being either killed or wounded on either side. This was the first collision of the kind that took place between the parties, the prologue, as it were, to the sad drama that was to follow; and it has ever since been remembered by the ludicrous appellation of "The Trot of Tureff." Proceeding to Aberdeen, the Gordons, as the fruit of their victory, quartered themselves upon their friends the citizens of that loyal city, where they gave themselves up to the most lawless license. Here they were met by the historian, Gordon of Straloch, who endeavoured to reason them into more becoming conduct, but in vain. Finding that they intended to attack the earl Marischal, who was now resident at Dunnottar castle, Straloch hastened thither to mediate between them and the earl, and if possible to prevent the



effusion of human blood. The Gordons followed rapidly on his heels ; but having lain one night in the open fields, and finding the earl Marischal determined to oppose them, they at last hearkened to the advice of Straloch, and agreed to disband themselves, without committing further outrages. Unhappily, however, they had been joined at Durris by one thousand Highlanders, under lord Lewis Gordon, third son to the marquis of Huntly, who, though a mere boy, had made his escape from his guardians, assumed the Highland dress, and appeared at the head of these outrageous loyalists for the interests of his father. This band of one thousand heroes it was impossible to send home till they had indulged their patriotic feelings among the goods and chattels of their supposed enemies ; which they did to such an extent, as to provoke the deepest resentment. The earl Marischal with his little army advanced against them, and on the 23d of May entered Aberdeen, thirty Highland barons making a precipitate retreat before him.

For the suppression of these insurrections, Montrose had been again commissioned to the north, with an army of four thousand men, with which he entered Aberdeen on the 25th of May, only two days after the earl Marischal. Having discovered, by numerous intercepted letters, the real feelings of the inhabitants, and that their former compliance with his demands had been mere hypocrisy, practised for the purpose of saving their goods, Montrose imposed upon them another fine of ten thousand merks,—his men, at the same time, making free with whatever they thought fit to take, no protections being granted, save to a very few burgesses, who were known to be genuine covenanters. In revenge for the affront put upon their blue ribbon by the ladies, not one single dog upon which the soldiers could lay their hands, was left alive within the wide circuit of Aberdeen. The Gordons, meanwhile, learning that the Frasers and the Forbeses were advancing to join Montrose, crossed the Spey with one thousand foot and upwards of three hundred horse, and took post on a field near Elgin, where the Frasers and Forbeses lay with an army superior to theirs in number. A parley ensued, and it was settled that neither party should cross the Spey to injure the other. Both parties, of course, sought their native quarters ; and the Gordons, sensible of their inability to cope with Montrose, determined, individually, to seek each his own safety. Having nothing else to do, and possessing abundance of artillery, Montrose resolved to reduce the principal strength belonging to the party, and for this end had just sat down before Gicht, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, when he learned that the earl of Aboyne, second son of the marquis of Huntly, had arrived at Aberdeen with three ships, having obtained from the king, at York, a commission of lieutenancy over the whole north of Scotland. He, of course, hasted back to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 5th of June ; Aboyne had not yet landed, but for what reason does not appear. Montrose left Aberdeen next day, marching southward with all his forces, as did the earl Marischal at the same time. Aboyne, of course, landed, and raising his father's vassals and dependents, to the number of four thousand men, took possession of Aberdeen—at the cross of which he published the king's proclamation, bestowing all the lands of the covenanters upon their opponents. He then proposed to attack Montrose and the earl Marischal, marching for this purpose along the sea coast, ordering his ships with the cannon and ammunition to attend his progress. A west wind arising, drove the ships with his artillery and ammunition out to sea, so that he came in contact with Montrose and the earl Marischal advantageously posted on the Meagry-hill, a little to the south of Stonehaven, without the means of making any impression upon them. A few shots from the field-pieces of Montrose, so completely disheartened the followers of Aboyne,

that they fell back upon Aberdeen in a state of utter confusion, with the loss of half their number, leaving to the covenanted a bloodless victory. Aboyne was rapidly followed by the victors; but with the gentlemen who yet adhered to him, he took post at the bridge of Dee, which he determined to defend, for the preservation of Aberdeen. Montrose attacked this position on the 18th of June, with his usual impetuosity, and it was maintained for a whole day with great bravery. Next morning Montrose made a movement as if he intended to cross the river farther up; and the attention of the defenders being thus distracted, Middleton made a desperate charge, and carried the bridge in defiance of all opposition. The routed and dispirited loyalists fled with the utmost trepidation towards the town, and were closely pursued by the victorious covenanted. Aberdeen was now again in the hands of the men of whom it had more reason than ever to be afraid: it had already endured repeated spoliations at the hands of both parties, and was at last threatened with indiscriminate pillage. At their first entry into the town, June 19th, the troops behaved with great rudeness; every person suspected of being engaged in the last insurrection was thrown into prison, and the general cry of the army was to set the town on fire. There was some disagreement, however, among the chiefs respecting the execution of such a severe measure, and next day the question was set at rest by the news of the pacification of Berwick, which had been concluded on the 18th, the day that the parties had been so hotly engaged at the bridge of Dee. Montrose was probably not a little sorry to be confined in the north, quelling parties of Highland royalists, when there was a probability of actions of much greater importance taking place in another quarter, upon which the eyes of all men were fixed with a much more intense interest than they could possibly be upon the rock of Dunnottar, the bog of Gicht, or even the "brave town of Aberdeen." Now that a settlement had taken place, he hastened to the head-quarters, that he might have his proportion of what was to be dealt out on the occasion, whether it were public honours, public places, or private emoluments.

It now struck the mind of the king, that if he could but gain over the nobility to his side, the opposition of the lower classes would be rendered of little efficacy; and that he might have an opportunity of employing his royal eloquence for that purpose, he invited fourteen of the most influential of the grandees, that had taken part against him, to wait upon his court at Berwick, under the pretence of consulting them on the measures he meant to adopt for promoting the peace and the prosperity of the country. Aware of his design, the states sent only three of their number, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, to make an apology for the non-appearance of the remainder. The apology, however, was not accepted; and by the king's special command, they wrote for the noblemen who had been named to follow them. This the noblemen probably were not backward to do, but a rumour being raised, that he intended to seize upon them, and send the whole prisoners to London, the populace interfered, and, to prevent a tumult, the journey was delayed. Charles was highly offended with this conduct; and being strongly cautioned by his courtiers against trusting himself among the unruly Scots, he departed for England, brooding over his depressed cause, and the means of regaining that influence of which he had been deprived by his subjects. Of those who did wait upon him, he succeeded in seducing only one, the earl of Montrose, who was disappointed in being placed under general Leslie, and who had of late become particularly jealous of Argyle. How much reason Charles had to be proud of such an acquisition we shall see in the sequel, though there can be no doubt that the circumstance emboldened him to proceed in his policy of only granting a set of mock reforms to the Scot-

tish people, with the secret purpose of afterwards replacing the affairs of the kingdom on the same footing as before. In the spirit of this design, the earl of Traquair, who was nominated his majesty's commissioner for holding the stipulated parliament and general assembly, was directed to allow the abolition of episcopacy, not as unlawful, but for settling the present disorders; and on no account to allow the smallest appearance of the bishops' concurring (though several of them had already done and did concur) in the deed. He was to consent to the covenant being subscribed as it originally was in 1580—"provided it be so conceived that our subjects do not thereby be required to abjure episcopacy as a part of popery, or against God's law." If the assembly required it to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland, he was to yield rather than make a breach: and the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow he was to ratify, not as deeds of that meeting, all mention of which he was to avoid, but as acts of this present assembly; and to make every thing sure his own way, when the assembly business was closed, immediately before prayers, he was enjoined to make protestation, in the fairest way possible, that in respect of his majesty "not coming to the assembly in person, and his instructions being hastily written, many things may have occurred upon which he had not his majesty's pleasure; therefore, in case any thing had escaped him, or been condescended upon prejudicial to his majesty's service, his majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." By these and other devices of a similar character, Charles imagined that he could lawfully render the whole proceedings of the assembly null and void at any time he might think it proper to declare himself. Traquair seconded the views of his master with great dexterity; and the assembly suspecting no bad faith, every thing was amicably adjusted.

In the parliament that sat down on the last day of August, 1639, the day after the rising of the general assembly, matters did not go quite so smoothly. Episcopacy being abolished, and with it the civil power of churchmen, the fourteen bishops, who had formed the third estate of the kingdom in parliament, were wanting. To fill up this deficiency, the other two estates proposed, instead of the bishops, to elect fourteen persons from the lower barons; but this was protested against by the commissioner, and by and by their proceedings were interrupted by an order for their prorogation till the 2d day of June, 1640. Against this prorogation the house protested as an invasion of their rights; but they nevertheless gave instant obedience, after they had appointed commissioners to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revival of his commands. Before these commissioners found their way into the presence of Charles, however, he had fully resolved upon renewing the war, and all the arguments they could urge were of course unavailing. Charles, on this occasion, certainly displayed a want of consideration which was very extraordinary; he had emptied his treasury by his last fruitless campaign, yet continued his preparations against Scotland, though he could not raise one penny but by illegal and desperate expedients, which alienated the hearts of his English subjects more and more from him every day. The Scots were, at the same time, perfectly aware of what was intended, and they made such preparations as were in their power to avert the danger. As the subject of this memoir, however, seems not to have taken any particular or prominent part in these preparations, we must pass them over, referring the reader to the lives of those individuals who at this time took the most active part in conducting public affairs. Suffice it to say that, to oppose the army of Charles, which he had with great difficulty increased to nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, the Scots had an army of twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a considerable

train of artillery. Of this army, Alexander Leslie was again appointed commander-in-chief; lord Almond, brother to the earl of Livingston, lieutenant-general; W. Baillie, of the Lamington family, major-general; colonel A. Hamilton, general of artillery, colonel John Leslie, quarter-master-general; and A. Gibson, younger of Durie, commissary general. The nobles in general had the rank of colonel, with the assistance of veteran officers as lieutenant-colonels. Montrose, though his disaffection to the cause was now no secret, had still as formerly, two regiments, one of horse and another of foot. All these appointments were made in the month of April, 1640, but excepting some smaller bodies for suppressing local risings in the north, the army did not begin to assemble till the middle of July, and it was not till the end of that month that it was marched to Chouseley wood, about four miles to the west of Dunse, and within six of the border.

The Scots had from the beginning of these troubles determined to carry the war, should war become inevitable, into England. This was sound policy; but as they did not wish to make war upon the English people, who were suffering equally with themselves, and were making the most praiseworthy exertions to limit the royal prerogative, it required no ordinary degree of prudence to carry it into execution. The leaders of the covenant, however, possessed powers fully adequate for the occasion. Notwithstanding of their warlike preparations, which were upon a scale equal to the magnitude of the enterprise, they continued to preserve the most perfect decorum, both of language and manner, and they sent before the army two printed papers, the one entitled "Six considerations, manifesting the lawfulness of their expedition into England," the other "The intentions of the army of the kingdom of Scotland declared to their brethren of England." In these papers, which for cogency of argument and elegance of composition may safely be compared with any similar productions of any age, they set forth in strong but temperate language the nature, the number, and the aggravations of their grievances. Their representations coming in the proper time, had the most powerful effect. If there was yet, at the time the parliament was convened, in a majority of the people, some tenderness towards the power of the monarch and the dignity of the prelates, every thing of the kind was now gone. The dissolution of a parliament, which for twelve years had been so impatiently expected and so firmly depended on, for at least a partial redress of grievances, and the innumerable oppressions that had been crowded into the short space between that dissolution and this appearance, on the part of the Scots, together with the exorbitances of the convocation,—that, contrary to all former precedent, had been allowed to sit, though the parliament was dissolved,—had so wrought upon the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed against prelates were grateful to the English nation, and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of the established church gave no offence save to the few who composed the court faction. So completely did these declarations meet the general feeling, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march was regarded as hurtful to the interests of the public. The northern counties, which lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the musqueteers, and the train-bands would not stir a foot without pay.

Anxious to make good their professions, the Scots were some time before they could advance, for want of money. The small supplies with which they had commenced operations being already nearly exhausted, two of the most popular of the nobility, along with Mr Alexander Henderson, and

secretary Johnston, were sent back to Edinburgh to see what could be done in the way of procuring gratuitous supplies. As it would have been displeasing to the English, had the army been under the necessity of cutting down trees, for erecting huts, as had been the practice in former times, when inroads were made upon their border, the commissioners were instructed to use their influence with their countrymen, to provide as much cloth as would serve for tents during their encampments in that country. It was late on a Saturday night when the commissioners arrived in Edinburgh, but the exhortations of the ministers next day were so effectual, that on Monday the women of Edinburgh alone produced webs of coarse linen, vulgarly called *harn*, nearly sufficient for tents to the whole army; and the married men, with equal promptitude, advanced the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, with a promise of remitting as much more in a few days, which they did accordingly. Having obtained these supplies, and a considerable train of black cattle and sheep to be used as provisions, the Scottish army moved from Chouseley wood towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river being swollen, they were obliged to camp on a spacious plain called Hirsel Haugh, till the flood should subside; and here they first proved the cloth furnished them for tents, by the good women of Edinburgh. On the 20th, the river having sunk to its ordinary level, it was resolved that the army should march forward. This, however, was considered so momentous an affair, that not one of the leading men would volunteer to be the first to set hostile feet upon the English border; and it was left to the lot to decide who should have the honour, or the demerit of doing so. The lot fell upon Montrose, who, aware of his own defection; and afraid of those suspicions with which he already saw himself regarded, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to lay them asleep. Plunging at once into the stream, he waded through to the other side without a single attendant, but immediately returned to encourage his men; and a line of horse being planted on the upper side of the ford to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, only one man being drowned of the whole army. The commanders, like Montrose, with the exception of those who commanded the horse employed to break the force of the water, waded at the head of their respective regiments, and though it was four o'clock, P. M., before they began to pass, the whole were on the English side before midnight. They encamped for that night on a hill that had been occupied by a troop of English horse, set to guard the ford, but which had fled before the superior force of the Scottish army; large fires were kindled in advance, which, says one of the actors in the scene, "rose like so many heralds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England;" contrary to the intentions of the Scots, "these fires so terrified the country people, that they all fled with bag and baggage towards the south parts of the country," according to the above author, "leaving their desolate houses to the mercy of the army." Charles left London to take command of his army, which had already rendezvoused at York, on the same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. This army, as we have stated above, was said to be twenty-one thousand strong; but from the aversion of the people in general to the service, there is reason to suppose, that in reality it fell far short of that number. The earl of Northumberland was nominated to the command, but he felt, says an English historian, disgusted at being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished; and taking advantage of a slight indisposition, he declared himself unfit to perform the duties of his function. Stafford, of course, exercised the supreme command,

though only with the title of lieutenant-general, not caring to assume that of general, because of the envy and odium that attended him. Lord Conway, who commanded under Stafford, had been stationed at Newcastle with a strong garrison to protect the town, which it was supposed he might easily do, as it was fortified, and well stored with provisions.

On the 21st, the Scottish army marched in the direction of Newcastle, and encamped for the night on Millfield Race. On the 22d, they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about seven thousand of their brethren, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched the same night to Middleton Haugh. On Thursday the 27th, they came in sight of Newcastle. During this whole march, the Scots acted up to their previous professions; every Englishman that came into the camp, they caressed and loaded with kindness, and now they despatched a drummer to Newcastle with two letters, one to the mayor, and another to the military governor of the city, demanding in the most civil manner liberty to pass peaceably through, that they might lay their petition at the feet of their sovereign. The messenger was, however, sent back with his letters unopened, because they were sealed; and before he reached the army in his return, the general had determined to pass the Tyne at Newburn, about five or six miles above Newcastle. The principal ford below the village of Newburn, as well as two others, Conway had commanded by trenches, but as the river was passable in many other places not far distant, he had resolved on a retreat. Stafford, however, who undervalued the Scots, was anxious for a battle, if it were only to see what was the mettle of the parties, and commanded him to abide at his post. In approaching Newburn, general Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little in advance, narrowly escaped being cut off by a party of English horse, that had crossed the Tyne for the purpose of reconnoitering. At sight of each other, both parties called a halt, and some more of the Scottish horse appearing, the English judged it prudent to retreat. The Scots during the night, encamped on Hadden Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water's edge. The English were encamped on the opposite side of the Tyne, on a perfect level, that extended behind them to the distance of more than half a mile. The Scottish position was deficient in water, but in return they had abundance of coal from the pits in the neighbourhood, with which they made great fires all around their camp, which tended not a little to magnify their appearance to the enemy. In the morning it was found that their camp overlooked completely that of the English, and they were able from the nature of the ground to plant their cannon so as to command completely the trenches cast up by the English at the fords. The morning was spent coolly in making preparations, both parties watering their horses at the river, (the tide being up,) without molestation. As the river became fordable, however, they became more jealous, and about mid-day a Scottish officer watering his horse, and looking steadily on the entrenchments on the opposite side, was shot dead by an English sentinel. This was the signal for battle; the Scottish batteries immediately opened, and the trenches thrown up by the English at the fords were soon rendered untenable. A few horsemen volunteers under a major Ballantyne, sent over the water to reconnoitre, with orders only to fire at a distance, and to retreat if necessary, found the whole of the breast-works abandoned. The general's guard, consisting of the college of justice's troop, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, with two regiments of foot, Crawford's and Loudon's, were then sent across; and a battery being opened at the same time from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of the English horse on the plain below, a retreat was sounded, the cannon were withdrawn from the trenches, and the Scots passed in full force without farther

opposition. The English foot sought refuge in a wood, and the horse in covering their retreat, were attacked by a fresh body of Scots, defeated with some loss, and their commanders made prisoners. The scattered parties escaped under cover of night, to carry dismay and confusion into the main body. The loss was inconsiderable, but the rout was complete. The English horse, who but the day before had left Newcastle with their swords drawn, threatening to kill each a dozen of covenanters, made their way into the town in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay, crying, as they rode full speed through the streets, for a guide to Durham; and having strewed the roads behind them with their arms, which they had thrown away in their haste to escape. The Scottish army rested that night upon the ground which the English had occupied, one regiment being still on the north side of the Tyne with the baggage, which the return of the tide had prevented being brought across. Despatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, of the same respectful character as had been formerly sent, were prepared on the morning of Saturday; but the committee learning that the garrison had abandoned it during the night, and retired with lord Conway to join the main army at York, it was thought proper to advance without ceremony. The army accordingly moved to Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped for the night, and next morning, Sunday the 30th of August, the mayor sent an invitation to enter the town. The troops were accordingly marched into a field near the suburbs, after which the gates were thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, entered the town in state, Sir Thomas Hope's troop marshalling the way, and the laird of West Quarter's company of foot keeping the post at the end of the bridge. The whole company were fronted at the house of the lord mayor, who was astonished to observe that they all drank his majesty's health. After dinner the company repaired to the great church of St Nicholas, where a thanksgiving sermon was preached by Mr Henderson. In the town they found next day between four and five thousand stand of arms, five thousand pounds' weight of cheese, some hundreds of bolls of pease and rye, a quantity of hard fish, with abundance of beer; which had been provided for the king's troops, but now was taken possession of by his enemies.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the prospects of the covenanters at this time. The same day in which they gained the victory at Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, then reckoned an impregnable fortress, surrendered to their friends in Scotland, as did shortly after that of Edinburgh; and the capture of Newcastle was speedily followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The number and the splendour of these successes, with the delightful anticipations which they naturally called forth, could not fail to strike every pious mind among the Scots; and a day was most appropriately set apart by the army, as a day of fasting and prayer, in acknowledgment of their sense of the divine goodness. Stafford who, from bad health, had not yet come into action, was hastening to the combat, when he met his discomfited army at Durham; and, from the ill-timed haughtiness which he displayed, was soon the only enemy his army was desirous to overcome. His soldiers even went the length of vindicating their conduct at Newburn; affirming, that no man could wish success to the war against the Scots, without at the same time wishing the enslavement of England. The prudent magnanimity of the Scots, who, far from being elated with the victory, deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, not only supported, but heightened the favourable opinion that had been from the beginning entertained of them. Their prisoners, too, they treated not only with civility, but with such soothing and affectionate kindness, as insured their gratitude, and called forth the plaudits of the whole nation.

Eager to profit by this state of things, in restoring order and concord between the king and his people, the Scottish committee, on the 2nd of September, sent a letter to the earl of Lanark, his majesty's secretary of state for Scotland, enclosing a petition which they requested him to lay before the king. To this petition, which was couched in the most delicate terms, the king returned an answer without loss of time, requiring them to state in more plain terms the claims they intended to make upon him; informing them, at the same time, that he had called a meeting of the peers of England, to meet at York on the 24th instant. This was an antiquated and scarcely legal assembly, which Charles had called by his own authority, to supersede the necessity of again calling a parliament,—the only means by which the disorders of the government could now be arrested, and which the Scottish committee in their petition had requested him to call immediately. To this communication, the committee replied; "that the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the last Scottish parliament, garrison the castle of Edinburgh and the other fortresses only for the defence and security of his subjects, free their countrymen in England and Ireland from further persecution for subscribing the covenant, and press them no further with oaths and subscriptions not warranted by law—bring to just censure the incendiaries who had been the authors of these combustions—restore the ships and goods that had been seized and condemned by his majesty's orders; repair the wrongs and repay the losses that had been sustained; recall the declaration that had been issued against them as traitors—and, finally, remove, with the consent of the parliament of England, the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments to free trade, and to the peace, the religion, and liberties of the two kingdoms.

These demands were no doubt as unpalatable as ever to Charles, but the consequences of his rashness were now pressing him on all sides. His exchequer was empty, his revenue anticipated, his army undisciplined and disaffected, and himself surrounded by people who scarcely deigned to disguise their displeasure at all his measures. In such extreme embarrassment, the king clung, like a drowning man, to any expedient which presented itself, rather than again meet, with the only friends who could effectually relieve him, his parliament. There was unfortunately, too, a secret party among the covenanters, who, with all the pretensions to religion and to patriotism they had put forth, were only seeking their own aggrandisement, and were determined never to admit any pacification that did not leave them at the head of public affairs. Of these, among the Scots, Montrose was the most conspicuous. We have seen with what zeal he imposed the covenant upon the recusant Aberdonians. But he had, since then, had a taste of royal favour at Berwick, and, as it was likely to advance him above every other Scotsman, his whole study, ever since that memorable circumstance, had been how he might best advance the royal interest. For this purpose he had formed an association for restoring the king to an unlimited exercise of all his prerogatives, which was subscribed at Cumbernauld, on the sixth day of the preceding July, by himself, the earl of Wigton, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond, who held the place of lieutenant-general in the covenanters' army; and afterwards by the earls of Marischal, Marr, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and by the lords Stewart, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, and Napier. Though this association was unknown at the time, the predilections of Montrose were no secrets, and, of course, his credit among his friends was rather on the decline; but a circumstance now occurred which displayed his character in the full light of day, and nearly extinguished any little degree of respect that yet remained to him among the members of the liberal party. It had been laid



down, at the commencement of the campaign, that no person in the army should communicate with either the English court or army, but by letters submitted to the inspection, and approved of by the committee, under the pain of treason. In obedience to this rule, when Sir James Mercer was despatched with the petition to the king, a number of letters from Scotsmen in the camp to their friends in the royal army, were submitted to the committee, and delivered to him, to be carried to their proper destination. Among these letters was one from Montrose to Sir Richard Graham, which had been read and allowed by the committee; but when Sir James Mercer delivered Sir Richard the letter, who instantly opened it, an enclosed letter dropped out and fell to the ground, which Sir James, politely stooping to lift, found, to his astonishment, was addressed in the hand-writing of Montrose to the king. Certain that no such letter had been shown to the committee, Sir James was at once convinced of what had been for some time suspected, that Montrose was betraying the cause in which he had been such a fiery zealot; and on his arrival at Newcastle, instantly communicated the circumstance to general Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee, of which it was Montrose's turn to sit as president, that same afternoon, moved that Sir James Mercer should be called in and examined concerning the letters he had carried to court. Sir James told an unvarnished tale, that would not admit of being denied; and Montrose, with that constitutional hardihood which was natural to him, finding no other resource, stood boldly up and challenged any man to say, that corresponding with the king was any thing else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie told him that he had known princes lose their heads for less. He had, however, too many associates to his treason, to render it safe or rather prudent at the present moment to treat him as convicted, and he was only enjoined to keep his chamber. While Montrose was thus traitorously spiriting up the king to stand up to all his usurpations, on the one side, Strafford was no less busy on the other, knowing that nothing could save him from the hands of public justice but the king; nor could the king do so, but by strengthening rather than abridging his prerogative. The voice of the nation, however, was distinctly raised, and there was nothing left for Charles but compliance, real or apparent.

From this period forward, we know of no portion of history that has a more painful interest than that of Charles I. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enter into it farther than what may be necessary to make the thread of our narrative intelligible. The Scottish committee being sincerely desirous of an accommodation, the preliminaries of a treaty were, on their part, soon settled; and commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place, October 1st, at Rippon, half way between the quarters of the two armies; where it was agreed that all hostilities should cease on the 26th of the same month. Charles was now necessitated to call a parliament, and on his consenting to this, the peers agreed to give their personal security to the city of London for a sum of money sufficient to pay both armies—for Charles had now the Scottish army to subsist as well as his own—till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be fully settled by a parliament. The Scottish army was to be stationary at Newcastle, and was to be paid at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; but the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred to London, in order to attend the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 3d of November.

Unfortunately for the king, and latterly for the cause of liberty, the Scots who had attracted so much notice, and conducted themselves with so much prudence, were now no longer principals, but auxiliaries in the quarrel. The English parliament, occupied with the grievances which had

been so long complained of, and profiting by the impression which the successful resistance of the Scots had made, were in no haste to forward the treaty; so that it was not finished till the month of August, 1641. The Scottish army all this time received their stipulated daily pay, and the parliament further gratified them with what they called a brotherly assistance, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, as a compensation for the losses they had sustained in the war, of which eighty thousand pounds was paid down as a first instalment. The king, so long as he had the smallest hope of managing the English parliament, was in as little haste as any body to wind up the negotiations, and, in the meantime, was exerting all his king-craft to corrupt the commissioners. Montrose, we have seen, he had already gained. Rothes, whose attachment to the covenant lay also in disgust and hatred of the opposite party, was likewise gained, by the promise of a rich marriage, and a lucrative situation near the king's person. A fever, however, cut him off, and saved him from disgracing himself in the manner he had intended. Aware that he was not able to subdue the English parliament, Charles, amidst all his intriguing, gave up every thing to the Scots, and announced his intention of meeting with his parliament in Edinburgh by the month of August. This parliament had sat down on the 19th of November, 1640, and having re-appointed the committee, adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641; when it again met, re-appointed the committee, and adjourned till the thirteenth of April. The committee had no sooner sat down, than the Cumbernauld bond was brought before them. It had been all this while kept a secret, though the general conversation of those who were engaged in it had excited strong suspicions of some such thing being in existence. The first notice of this bond seems to have dropped from lord Boyd on his death-bed; but the full discovery was made by the lord Almond to the earl of Argyle, who reported it to the committee of parliament. The committee then cited before them Montrose, and so many of the benders as happened to be at home at the time—who acknowledged the bond, and attempted to justify it, though by no means to the satisfaction of the committee, many of the members of which were eager to proceed capitally against the offenders. Motives the most mercenary and mean, however, distracted their deliberations, and impeded the course of even-handed justice; the bond was delivered up and burned; the parties declared in writing that no evil was intended; and the matter was hushed.

At a meeting of the committee, May 26th, probably as a set off against the Cumbernauld bond, Mr John Graham, minister at Auchterarder, was challenged for a speech uttered by him to the prejudice of the duke of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his authority Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, who, being present, gave for his author the earl of Montrose. Montrose condescended on the speech, the time, and the place. The place was in Argyle's own tent, at the ford of Lyon; the time, when the earl of Athol and eight other gentlemen were there made prisoners; the speech was to this effect—that they [the parliament] had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and were resolved that it might be done in three cases:—1st, Desertion—2d, Invasion—3d, Vendition; adding, that they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next. For this speech Montrose gave for witness John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who were present in the tent; and undertook to produce him, which he did four days afterward. Stuart, before the committee, subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had said in his name, and was sent by the committee to the castle. In the castle he signed another paper, wherein he cleared Argyle, owned that he himself had forged the speech out of malice against his lordship; and that by

the advice of Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of the speech, under his hand, to the king by captain Walter Stuart. Argyle thus implicated in a charge of the most dangerous nature, was under the necessity of presenting Stuart before the justiciary, where, upon the clearest evidence, he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

On the 11th of June, Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, were cited before the committee, and after examination committed close prisoners to the castle, where they remained till towards the close of the year. Parliament, according to adjournment, having met on the 15th of July, letters were read, excusing his majesty's attendance till the 15th of August, when it was resolved to sit till the coming of his majesty, and to have every thing in readiness against the day of his arrival. Montrose was in the meantime summoned to appear before parliament on the 13th day of August. He requested that he might be allowed advocates for consultation, which was granted. So much, however, was he hated at the time, that no advocate of any note would come forward in his behalf, and from sheer necessity he was obliged to send for Mr John, afterwards Sir John Gilmour, then a man of no consideration, but in consequence of being Montrose's counsel, afterwards held in high estimation, and employed in the succeeding reign for promoting the despotic measures of the court. On the 13th of August, Montrose appeared before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued to the twenty-fourth, and remanded to prison. At the same time, summonses were issued against the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear before the parliament on the twenty-eighth. On the fourteenth his majesty arrived in Edinburgh, having visited in his way the Scottish army at Newcastle, and dined with general Leslie. On the seventeenth he came to the parliament, and sat there every day afterwards till he had accomplished as he supposed, the purposes of his journey. The king, perfectly aware, or rather perfectly determined to break with the parliament of England, had no object in view by this visit except to gain over the leaders of the Scots, that they might either join him against the parliament, or at least stand neuter till he had reduced England, when he knew he could mould Scotland as he thought fit. He, of course, granted every thing they requested. The earl of Montrose appeared again before the parliament on the twenty-fourth of August, and was continued *de novo*, as were also the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, on the twenty-eighth. In this state they all remained till, in return for the king's concessions, they were set at liberty in the beginning of the year 1642.

Though in prison, Montrose had done all that he possibly could to stir up an insurrection in favour of the king while he was in Scotland; and he had also exerted himself, though unsuccessfully, to procure the disgrace of the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Lamark, both of whom he seems bitterly to have envied, and to have hated almost as heartily as he did Argyle. It was probably owing to this, that upon his liberation he retired to his own house in the country, living privately till the spring of 1643; when the queen returning from Holland, he hastened to wait upon her at Burlington, and accompanied her to York. He embraced this opportunity again to press on the queen, as he had formerly done on the king, what he was pleased to denominate the dangerous policy of the covenanters, and solicited a commission to raise an army and to suppress them by force of arms, as he was certain his majesty would never be able to bring them to his measures by any other means. The marquis of Hamilton thwarted him, however, for the present, and he again returned home.

Having been unsuccessful in so many attempts to serve the king, and his services being now absolutely rejected, it might have been supposed that Montrose would either have returned to his old friends, or that he would have withdrawn himself as far as it was possible from public life. But he was animated by a spirit of deadly hatred against the party with whom he had acted, and he had within him a restless spirit of ambition which nothing could satisfy but the supreme direction in all public managements: an ambition, the unprincipled exercise of which rendered him, from the very outset of his career, the "evil genius," first of the covenanters, and latterly of the miserably misled monarch whom he laboured apparently to serve, and whom he affected to adore. By suggesting the plot against Argyle and Hamilton, known in history by the name of the Incident, during the sitting of the parliament, with Charles at its head in Edinburgh, he checked at once the tide of confidence between him and his parliament, which was rapidly returning to even more than a reasonable height, and created numberless suspicions and surmisings through all the three kingdoms, that could never again be laid while he was in life; and by betraying the secrets of the covenanters, he led the unwary monarch into such an extravagant notion of the proofs of treason which might be established against some members of the lower house, that, forgetting the dignity of his place, he came to the parliament house in person, to demand five of its members, who, he said, had been guilty of treason; an unhappy failure, which laid the broad foundation of his total ruin. With ceaseless activity Montrose, at the same time, tampered with the leaders of the covenant, who, anxious to bring him back to their cause, held out the prospect of not only a pardon, but of their giving him the post of lieutenant-general. Under the pretence of smoothing some difficulties of conscience, he sought a conference with the celebrated preacher, Mr Henderson, that he might pry into the secrets of his former friends; which he had no sooner obtained, than he hastened to lay the whole before his majesty in a new accusation, and as offering additional motives for his majesty issuing out against them commissions of fire and sword.

The king, having now disengaged himself from the controlling influence of the marquis of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement, in terms of which the earl of Antrim, who was at the time waiting upon his majesty, undertook to transport into Scotland a few thousands of his Irish retainers, at whose head, and with the assistance of a band of Highland royalists, Montrose was to attempt the subversion of the existing Scottish government. The time appointed for the execution of this scheme was the beginning of April, 1644. Arms and ammunition were in the meantime to be imported from the continent, and a small auxiliary force procured from the king of Denmark.

As the time approached, Montrose, raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford with the royal commission, to be lieutenant-general for Scotland, under prince Rupert, and accompanied by about one hundred cavaliers, mostly his personal friends. To these he added a small body of militia in passing through the northern counties of England, and on the 13th of April entered Scotland on the western border; and pushing into Dumfries, he there erected his standard, and proposed to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his Irish auxiliaries. In two days, however, he was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat to Carlisle. This so speedy catastrophe did not tend to exalt the character of Montrose among the English cavaliers, who had pretty generally been of opinion that a diversion in Scotland in the then state of the country was utterly impracticable. Montrose, however, had lost nothing of his self-confidence, and he applied to prince Rupert for one thousand horse, with which he promised to cut his way through all that Scotland could oppose to him. This the prince promised he

should have, though he probably never intended any such thing, for he regarded him in no other light than that of a very wrong-headed enthusiast. Even his more particular friends, appalled by the reports of the state of matters in the north, began to melt from his side, and he was universally advised to give up his commission, and reserve himself for a more favourable opportunity. The spirit of Scotland was at this time decidedly warlike. Leslie was in England with a large army of Scotsmen, who shortly after performed a prominent part at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. There was an army in the north, which had suppressed the insurrection of the Gordons, and sent Haddo and Logie to the block; and the earl of Callendar, formerly lord Almond, was ordered instantly to raise five thousand men for the suppression of Montrose. The commission of the general assembly of the church, in the meantime, proceeded against that nobleman, with a sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced in the high church of Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth day of April, scarcely more than ten days after he had set hostile foot on Scottish ground. Not knowing well what to do, Montrose made an attack upon a small party of covenanters in Morpeth, whom he drove out of the town, and secured the castle. He also captured a small fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and stored Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick and other places around. He was requested by prince Rupert to come up to the battle of Marston Moor, but on his way thither met the prince flying from that disastrous field.

He now determined to throw himself into the Highlands, where he still had high hopes of assistance and success. Making choice of two persons only for his companions, Sir William Rollock and colonel Sibbald, he disguised himself and rode as Sibbald's groom, and in this manner, taking the most wild and unfrequented ways, they arrived, after riding four days, at Tullibaltan, near the foot of the Grampians, the house of his friend, Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, where he halted for some days, passing his time through the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day among the neighbouring mountains. His two companions in the meantime were despatched to collect intelligence respecting the state of the country, and privately to warn his friends. The accounts procured by his friends were of the most distressing kind, the covenanters being every where in great strength, and the cavaliers in a state of the most complete dejection. In a few days, however, a letter was brought by a Highlander to Inchbrackie, with a request that it might be conveyed to the marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. This was a letter from Alexander M'Coll, alias M'Donald, a distinguished warrior, who had been entrusted with the charge of his retainers by the marquis of Antrim, with a request that he, Montrose, would come and take the command of the small but veteran band. This small division had about a month before landed in the sound of Mull, had besieged, taken, and garrisoned three castles on the island of that name, and afterwards sailing for the mainland had disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, in the meantime, coming round to that quarter with some ships of war, had taken and destroyed their vessels, so that they had no means of escape; and, with a strong party of the enemy hanging on their rear, were proceeding into the interior in the hope of being assisted by some of the loyal clans. Montrose wrote an immediate answer as if from Carlisle, and appointed a day not very distant when he would meet them at Blair of Athol, which he selected as the most proper place of meeting from the enmity which he knew the men of Athol had to Argyle. On the appointed day, attended by Inchbrackie, both dressed in the costume of ordinary Highlanders and on foot, he travelled from Tullibaltan to the place of meeting, and to his great joy found twelve hundred Irishmen quartered on the spot. They had already been joined

by small bodies of Highlanders, and the men of Athol seemed ready to rise almost to a man. When Montrose presented himself to them, though he exhibited his majesty's commission to act as lieutenant-general, the Irish, from the meanness of his appearance, could scarcely believe that he was the man he gave himself out to be. But the Highlanders, who received him with the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection, put the matter beyond doubt, and he was hailed with the highest enthusiasm. He was joined the same day by the whole of the Athol Highlanders, including the Stuarths, the Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the number of eight hundred, so that his army was above two thousand men. Aware that Argyle was in pursuit of the Irish, he led his army the next day across the hills towards Strathearn, where he expected reinforcements. Passing the castle of Wiem, the seat of the clan Menzies, he commenced his career by burning and ravaging all the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the harsh treatment of one of his messengers by the family, to strike a salutary terror into all who might be disposed to offer him violence, and to gratify his followers, whose principal object he well knew was plunder. Passing through glen Almond next day, an advanced party of his men were surprised with the appearance of a large body of men drawn up on the hill of Buckenty. These were men of Menteith, raised by order of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, marching to the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of lord Kilpont, eldest son of the earl of Menteith. Being mostly Highlanders and officered by gentlemen of the family of Montrose, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they were easily persuaded to place themselves under the royal standard, which increased his force to three thousand men.

Resolving to attack Perth, where some raw levies were assembled under the command of lord Elcho, Montrose continued his march all night, intending to take the place by surprise. Lord Elcho, however, had been warned of his approach, and had drawn his men to the outside of the town, intending to hazard a battle for its defence. In crossing the Tippermuir, a wild field about five miles from Perth, Montrose came in sight of the enemy, upwards of six thousand in number drawn up in one long line, with horse at either end. Lord Elcho himself led the right wing, Sir James Scott of Rossie, the only man in the army who had ever seen service, the left; and the earl of Tullibardine, the main body. Montrose drew out his little army also in one long line, three men deep. The Irish who were veteran troops, he placed in the centre; the Highlanders he placed on the wings to oppose the horse, being armed with swords, Lochaber axes, and long clubs. He himself led the right wing, that he might be opposed to Sir James Scott, who was an officer of good reputation, having served in the wars abroad—from the lords Elcho and Tullibardine, he apprehended little danger. The covenanted horse fled at the first onset, being overpowered, according to Wishart, by a shower of stones, but more probably induced by the treachery of lord Drummond, and his friend Gask. The flight of the horse threw the ill-disciplined foot into irremediable confusion, and they followed in such breathless haste, that many expired through fatigue and fear, without even the mark of a wound. Few were slain in the engagement, but there were upwards of three hundred killed in the pursuit. Montrose had not a single man killed, and only two wounded. The whole of the artillery and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victors; and Lord Drummond, whose treachery had chiefly occasioned the rout, joined Montrose as soon as the affair was over. Montrose entered Perth the same night, where he levied a subsidy of nine thousand merks, and stipulated for free quarters to his army for four days. They remained only three, but in these three they supplied themselves with whatever they wanted, whether it were

clothes, arms, food, money, or ammunition. The stoutest young men were also impressed into the ranks, and all the horses seized without exception.

On the 4th of September, Montrose crossed the Tay, and proceeded through Angus for Aberdeenshire. The first night of his march he halted at Collace, where lord Kilpont was murdered by Stuart of Ardvorlich, who struck down a sentinel with the same weapon, with which he had stabbed his lordship, and made his escape. Proceeding to Dundee, Montrose summoned the town; but it was occupied by a number of the Fife troops, and refused to surrender. The approach of the earl of Argyle, with a body of troops, prevented Montrose from venturing upon a siege. Proceeding towards Aberdeen, the Aberdonians, alarmed at his approach, sent off the public money, and their most valuable effects to Dunnotter, and having a force of upwards of two thousand men, they threw up some fortifications at the bridge of Dee, for the defence of the city. Montrose however, remembered the bridge of Dee, and, avoiding it, crossed the water by a ford at the mills of Drum, which rendered all their preparations vain. A summons was sent into the town to surrender, and the covenanters' army being on the march, the messengers who brought the summons were hospitably entertained and dismissed. By some accident the drummer on his return was killed; on which Montrose ordered preparations for an immediate attack, and issued the inhuman orders to give no quarter. Lord Burrell and Lewis Gordon, a son of Huntly's, led the right and left wings of the covenanters, which consisted of horse, and the levies of Aberdeenshire, a majority of whom were indifferent in the cause. The centre was composed of the Fife soldiers, and those who had joined them from principle. Montrose, still deficient in cavalry, had mixed his musketeers with his horse, and waited for the covenanters. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had forced a number of the Gordons to engage in opposition to the inclination and orders of his father, rushed precipitately forward with the left wing, which by a steady fire of musketry was suddenly checked, and before it could be rallied totally routed. The right wing experienced a similar fate, but the centre stood firm and maintained its post against the whole force of the enemy for two hours. It too at length gave way, and, fleeing into the town, was hotly pursued by the victors, who killed without exception every man they met; and for four days the town was given up to indiscriminate plunder. Montrose, lodging with his old acquaintance, skipper Anderson, allowed his Irishmen to take their full freedom of riot and debauchery. "Seeing a man well cled," says Spalding, "they would tirl him to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Some women they pressed to deflower, and some they took perforce to serve them in the camp. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, and were heard, they were presently slain also." The approach of Argyle put an end to these horrors. Expecting to be joined by the marquis of Huntly's retainers, Montrose hastened to Inverury, but the breach of faith in carrying the marquis forcibly to Edinburgh after a safe conduct being granted was not forgotten; and Argyle too being at hand, his ranks were but little augmented in this quarter. When he approached the Spey, he found the boats removed to the northern side, and the whole force of Moray assembled to dispute his passage. Without a moment's hesitation he dashed into the wilds of Badenoch, where with diminished numbers, for the highlanders had gone home to store their plunder, he could defy the approach of any enemy. Here he was confined for some days by sickness from over fatigue, but a few days restored him to wonted vigour, when he descended again into Athol to recruit, MacDonald having gone on the same errand into the Highlands. From Athol, Montrose passed into Angus, where he wasted the estates of lord Cowper,

and plundered the place of Drum, in which were deposited all the valuables belonging to the town of Montrose and the surrounding country; there also he obtained a supply of arms, and some pieces of artillery. Argyle with a greatly superior force, was following his footsteps; but, destitute of military talents, he could neither bring him to an engagement, nor interrupt his progress. Having supplied his wants in Angus, and recruited his army, Montrose suddenly re-passed the Grampians, and spreading ruin around him, made another attempt to raise the Gordons. Disappointed still, he turned to the castle of Fyvie, where he was surprised by Argyle and Lothian, and, but for the most miserable mismanagement, must have been taken. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, he eluded them by stratagem, and ere they were aware, was again lost in the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, sensible perhaps of his inferiority, returned to Edinburgh, and threw up his commission.

Montrose, now left to act as he thought proper, having raised, in his retreat through Badenoch, portions of the clans M'Donald and Cameron, and been joined by the Stuarts of Appin, whom his friend Alister M'Coll had raised for him, he, with the consent and by the advice of his associates, prepared to lay waste the territory of his hated rival Argyle. For this purpose he divided his army into two divisions, the one consisting of the levies from Lochaber and Knoydart, under John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanronalds, entered by the head of Argyle; the other under his own direction, by the banks of Loch Tay and Glen Dochart. The country on both tracts belonging either to Argyle or his relations was destroyed without mercy. In this work of destruction Montrose was assisted by the clans of M'Gregor and M'Nab; who, whatever might be said of their loyalty, were, the former of them especially, as dextrous at foraying and fire raising, as the most accomplished troop in his service. For upwards of six weeks was this devastation prolonged. Every person capable of bearing a weapon was murdered, every house was razed, castles excepted, which they were not able for the want of artillery to master. Trusting to the poverty and difficulty of the passes into his country, Argyle seems never to have anticipated such a visit, till the marauders were within a few miles of his castle of Inverary, when he instantly took boat and sailed for the Lowlands, leaving all behind to the uncontrolled sway of these insatiate spoilers, who "left not a four-footed beast in his hale lands," nor, as they imagined, a man able to bear arms. Having rendered the country a desert, they bent their way towards Inverness, by Lochaber, to meet the earl of Seaforth, who with the strength of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, occupied that important station.

Argyle in the meantime having met with general Baillie at Dumbarton, and concerted a plan with him, hastened back to the Highlands, and collecting his fugitive vassals and his dependants, followed at a distance the steps of his enemy, intending to be ready to attack him in the rear, when Baillie, as had been agreed between them, should advance to take him in front. Montrose was marching through Abertarf, in the great glen of Albin, when he was surprised with intelligence that Argyle was at Inverlochy with an army of, at least, double the number of that which he himself commanded, and aware that Baillie and Hurry were both before him, was at no loss to conjecture his intentions. Without a moment's hesitation, however, he determined to turn back, and taking his antagonist by surprise, cut him off at one blow, after which he should be able to deal with the enemy that was in his front, as circumstances should direct. For this purpose he placed a guard upon the level road down the great glen of Albin, which he had just traversed, that no tidings of his movements might be carried back, and moving up the narrow glen formed by the Tarf, crossed the hills of Lairee Thurnard. Descending thence into the lonely vale at the head of the Spey,



and traversing Glen Roy, he crossed another range of mountains, came in upon the water of Spean, and skirting the lofty Ben-nevis, was at Inverlochy, within half a mile of Argyle, before the least hint of his purpose had transpired; having killed every person they met with, of whom they had the smallest suspicion of carrying tidings of their approach, and the route they had chosen being so unusual a one, though they rested through the night in the clear moonlight, in sight of their camp, the Campbells supposed them to be only an assemblage of the country people come forth to protect their property; and they do not seem to have thought upon Montrose, till, with the rising sun and his usual flourish of trumpets, he debouched from the glen of the Nevis, with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. Argyle, who was lame of an arm at the time, had gone on board one of his vessels on the lake during the night, but a considerable portion of his troops that lay on the farther side of that lake, he had not thought it necessary to bring over to their fellows. His cousin, however, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a man of considerable military experience, who had been sent for from Ireland, for the purpose of leading this array of the Campbells, marshalled them in the best order circumstances would permit; but they fled at once before the wild yell of their antagonists, and, without even attempting to defend themselves, were driven into the lake, or cut down along its shores. On the part of Montrose, only three privates were killed and about two hundred wounded, among whom was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who died a few days after. On the part of Argyle, upwards of fifteen hundred were slain, among whom were a great number of the chief men of the Campbells. This victory which was certainly most complete, was gained upon Sunday the 2nd of February, 1645; and if, as there are abundant grounds for believing, the letter of Montrose concerning it to the king, was the means of causing him to break off the treaty of Uxbridge, when he had determined to accept of the conditions offered him, it was more unfortunate than any defeat could possibly have been.

Instead of following his rival Argyle to Edinburgh, and demonstrating, as he somewhat quaintly boasted in his letter to the king, that the country was really conquered, and in danger of being called by his name, Montrose resumed his march to the north east, and, after approaching Inverness, which he durst not attempt, made another foray through Morayland; where, under pretence of calling forth all manner of men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to serve the king, he burned and plundered the country, firing the cobbles of the fishermen, and cutting their nets in pieces. Elgin was saved from burning by the payment of four thousand merks, and its fair of Fasten's Eve, one of the greatest in the north of Scotland, was that year not held. The greater part of the inhabitants fled with their wives, their children, and their best goods, to the castle of Spynie, which only afforded an excuse for plundering the town of what was left. The laird of Grant's people, who had newly joined Montrose, no doubt for the express purpose, were particularly active in the plundering of Elgin, "breaking down beds, boards, insight, and plenishing, and leaving nothing that was tursable [portable] uncarried away." Leaving the Grants thus honourably employed for the king in Elgin, Montrose with the main body of his army, proceeded on the 4th of March to the bog of Gight, sending before him across the Spey the Farquharsons of Braemar to plunder the town of Cullen, which they did without mercy. Grant having deserted his standard and thus become an assistant in robbery, as might naturally have been expected in this sort of warfare, the garrison of Inverness sent out a party to his house at Elchies, which they completely despoiled, carrying off plates, jewels, wearing apparel, and other articles; after which they plundered the lands of Coxtoun, because the laird had followed Montrose along with the lord Gordon. This compelled all the gentlemen of that

quarter to go back for the protection of their own estates, Montrose taking their parole to continue faithful to the king or at least never to join the covenanters. This the most part of them kept as religiously as he had done the oath of the covenant. At the bog of Gight he lost his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, who had accompanied him through all this desultory campaign; and dying here, was buried in the church of Bellie.

Having received a reinforcement of five hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse, which was all that lord Gordon was able to raise among his father's vassals, Montrose moved from the bog of Gight, intending to fall down upon the Lowlands through Banffshire and Angus. In passing the house of Cullen, he plundered it of every article of plate and furniture, and would have set it on fire, but that the countess (the earl of Findlater being in Edinburgh) redeemed it for fifteen days, by paying five thousand marks in hand and promising fifteen thousand more. From Cullen he proceeded to Boyne, which he plundered of every article, spoiling even the minister's books and setting every 'biggin' on fire. The laird himself kept safe in the craig of Beyne; but his whole lands were destroyed. In Banff he left neither goods nor arms, and every man whom they met in the streets they stripped to the skin. In the neighbourhood of Turroff he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the viscount Frendraught, with all the moveable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithny, Forgue, and Drumblade. He was met by a deputation from Aberdeen, who "declared the hail people, man and woman through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He forbade them to be feared, for this foot army wherein the Irishes were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles." And "this," Spalding exultingly exclaims, "along with some other friendly promises, truly and nobly he kept!" Though he had promised to keep the Irishes at due distance, he sent one of his most trusty chieftains, Nathaniel Gordon, along with Donald Farquharson and about eighty well-horsed gentlemen, into Aberdeen, to seize some stores belonging to the estates, and to look out for Baillie, whom he expected by that route. These having partly executed their commission, sat down to enjoy themselves, and were surprised by general Hurry, who, with one hundred and sixty horse and foot, secured the gates and avenues of the town, and falling upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, killed many of them as they sat at their wine, and seized all their horses. Among those that were slain was Donald Farquharson, "one of the noblest captains," according to Spalding "amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired at his leisure, unmolested, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the covenant, were sent to Edinburgh. Among these prisoners was the second son of Montrose, now lord Graham, a young boy attending the schools, who along with his pedagogue was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. The corpse of Donald Farquharson "was found next day in the streets stripped naked, for they tilled from off his body a rich suit which he had put on only the samen day. Major-general M'Donald was sent in on the Saturday afternoon with one thousand Irishes, horse and foot, to bury Donald, which they did on Sabbath, in the laird of Drum's Isle." During these two days, though the Aberdonians were in great terror, M'Donald seems to have kept his Irishes in tolerably good order, "not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except to one or two covenanters that were plundered;" but on Monday, when he had left Aberdeen to meet Montrose at Duris, "a number of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken up in the night, and the horses taken out; but the

major hearing this returns that saven Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him; and so both Aberdeens were clear both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering—yet he took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the sum of ten thousand pounds and above, to be cloathing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that affect, whilk they were glad to do to be quit of their company." On the same Sunday, the 17th of March, Montrose burned the parish of Durrus, "the hail laigh biggins and corns, and spoiled the hail ground of nolt, sheep, and other guidis." The lands of Craigievar lying in the parish of Fintry, and the minister's house of Fintry, were served in the same manner the same day. He proceeded on the 20th to Dunnottar, where he summoned the earl Marischal to "come out of the castle and join him in the king's service." On receipt of the earl's answer "that he would not fight against his country," he sent a party who plundered and burned the whole lands of Dunnottar. They set fire at the same time to the town of Stenehaven and to all the fishing boats that lay in the harbour. The lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive and finely ornamented deer park, the village of Cowie, and the minister's manse of Dunnottar, shared the same fate.

After so many burnings and such reckless plundering, it must by this time have become necessary for Montrose to shift his quarters. Rapine, indeed, was almost the sole object of his followers; and when they had either too much or too little of it, they were sure to leave him. The north having been repeatedly gone over, he seems at last to have meditated a descent upon the south. A pitched battle with Baillie and Hurry, who were stationed at Brechin with a considerable army, he seems also to have thought a necessary preliminary to his further progress. For this purpose he came to Fettercairn, only eight miles from their camp, where he purposed to rest till they should by some movement indicate their strength and their intentions. Baillie and Hurry were both good officers, and they had a force more than sufficient to cope with Montrose; but they were hampered in all their movements by a parliamentary committee sent along with them, without whose advice or suffrage they were not allowed to act. In consequence of this, their conduct was not at all times of a very soldier-like character, nor their motions so prompt as they ought to have been; Montrose, however, was but a short time in his new quarters, when Hurry, who was general of the horse, came out with six hundred of his troopers to inspect his situation, and, if possible, ascertain his real strength. Montrose, apprized of his approach, drew out all the horse he had, about two hundred, whom he placed on an eminence in front of his camp, with a strong body of musketeers concealed in a hollow behind them. Hurry made a dash at the horse, but met with such a warm reception from the concealed musketeers, as made him quickly retreat. Hurry, however, who was a brave soldier, placed himself in the rear of his retreating squadron, and brought them safely back to the camp with very little damage. This encounter kept both parties quiet for some days, and induced Montrose to attempt getting into the Lowlands without fighting Baillie, as he had originally proposed. For this end he sent back the Gordons, that they might be ready to defend their own country, in case Baillie should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon them, after he had thus gotten the slip. He then skirted along the Grampians with the remainder of his army towards Dunkeld. Baillie made no attempt directly to stop him, but preserved such a position as prevented him making his intended descent. After being for two days thus opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the Isla, Montrose sent a trumpeter, challenging Baillie to fight, either coming

over the water to the north, or allowing him to come over to the south ; it being understood that no molestation was to be given to either till fairly clear of the water, or till he declared himself ready to fight. Baillie made a reply, which it had been well for his own reputation and for his country, that he had at all times continued to act upon. He would look, he said, to his own business, and did not require other men to teach him to fight. Both armies then resumed their march, and respectively arrived at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time.

Finding that he could not pass Baillie without a battle, and being informed by his scouts that he had left Perth and gone to the pass of Stirling ; Montrose, as an interim employment, that would help to pass the time, and encourage his followers by the abundance of spoil it would afford, determined on a visit to Dundee,—a place that was strenuous for the covenant, and which had haughtily refused to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Sending off his baggage, and the less efficient of his men to Brechin, on the 3d day of April he led a hundred and fifty horse, with six hundred picked musketeers against that city ; and continuing his march all night, arrived before it by ten o'clock on the forenoon of the 4th. Montrose immediately gave the place up to military execution ; and, perhaps, for a kind of salvo to his credit, retired to the top of Dundee Law, leaving the command to lord Gordon and Alister M'Coll. The attack was made at three different places simultaneously, and all of them in a few minutes were successful. The town was set on fire in various places. The most revolting scenes of outrage and rapine followed. The abundance of spoil, however, of the most alluring description, happily diverted the robbers from indulging in butchery ; and, ere they were aware, Baillie and Hurry were both at their heels. Had Montrose been in the town, the whole had been surprised and cut off in the midst of their revel ; but from his post on the hill, he was apprized of the approach of the enemy just in time to recall his men ; the greater part of them being so drunk that it was with difficulty they could be brought forth at the one extremity of the town as Baillie and Hurry entered at the other. Placing the weakest and most inebriated in the front, while he himself with the horse and the best of the musketeers brought up the rear, Montrose marched directly to Arbroath ; and from want of unity of plan and of spirit in the two commanders opposed to him, brought off the whole with but a trifling loss. He reached Arbroath, seventeen miles east of Dundee, long before day. Here, however, he could not rest without exposing himself and his army to certain destruction ; and anxious to regain the mountains, where alone he judged himself safe from his pursuers, he wheeled about in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, crossed the south Esk at Cariston castle, where he was only three miles from the Grampians. The march, which in the two nights and a day this army had performed, could not be much short of seventy miles, and they must now have been in great want of rest. Baillie, who had taken post for the night at Forfar, intending in the morning to fall down upon Montrose at Arbroath, where he calculated upon his halting, no sooner learned the manner in which he had eluded him, than, determined to overtake him, he marched from Forfar, with such haste that his horse were in sight of Montrose, ere that general was apprized that he was pursued. His men were in such a profound sleep, that it was not without difficulty they were awakened ; but they were no sooner so than they fled into the recesses of Glenesk, and Baillie abandoned the pursuit. The part of Montrose's troops that had been with the baggage sent to Brechin, had also by this time taken refuge among the Grampians, and in the course of next day joined their companions.

The parliamentary committee seem now to have regarded Montrose as a sort of predatory outlaw, whom it was vain to pursue upon the mountains, and if they could confine him to these mountains, which he had already laid in many places waste, they seem for a time to have been willing to be satisfied. Baillie was accordingly stationed at Perth, to defend the passes into the southern shires, and Hurry was to defend, if possible, the northern counties from that spoliation to which they had been oftener than once subjected. Montrose's followers, in the meantime, going home to deposit their plunder as usual, his numerical force was for a time considerably reduced. He, however, came as far south as Crief, for the purpose of meeting with his nephew, the master of Napier, viscount Aboyne, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty, who, with a few horse, had left their friends in England for the purpose of joining with him. Here Baillie attacked him, and chased him into the fastnesses at the head of Strathearn; whence, next day, April the 19th, he proceeded through Balquhiddy to Men-teith, where he had the good fortune to meet with his friends at the ford of Cardross. Here he had certainly been cut off from the Highlands, but that M'Coll had broken down upon the lordship of Cupar Angus, killed the minister of Cupar, and was laying waste the whole lands of lord Balmerinoch, which attracted the attention of Baillie. Montrose, in the meantime, learning that Hurry was too many for his friends in the north, marched through Strath Tay and Athol, raising the Highlanders every where as he went along; and before Hurry was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, suddenly appeared behind his position at Strathbogie. Though thus taken by surprise, Hurry made his retreat good to Inverness; and being reinforced by the troops lying there, marched back the next day to Nairn, with the design of attacking Montrose, who, he learned, was posted at the village of Auldearn. Montrose would now have avoided a battle, but that he knew Baillie would soon be up, when he would have both Hurry and Baillie to contend with. It was on the 9th of May, 1645, that the two armies came in sight of each other. Montrose, who was deficient in numbers, made an admirable disposition of his troops. One division, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and the Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and enclosures, to the north. The former he commanded in person, with lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to M'Coll. Hurry, unacquainted with the ground, led on his best troops to the attack of the right, as the main body, which was inclosed in impenetrable lines, and where he was exposed to the fire of cannon which he had no means of silencing. M'Coll, however, who was no general, provoked by the taunts of his assailants, came out of his fastnesses, and overcome by superiority of numbers and discipline, was speedily put to the rout. Montrose, who was watching an opportunity, no sooner perceived Hurry's men disordered by their success, than with his unbroken strength he attacked them in flank. This unexpected attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Lothian's, Loudon's, and Buchanan's regiments, who fell where they fought; and the day might perhaps have been retained, or at least left doubtful, had not colonel Drummond, one of Hurry's own officers, by a treacherous manœuvre, wheeled his horse into the midst of the foot, and trampled them down while they were at the hottest of the engagement with the enemy. In this battle, as in all of Montrose's, the carnage was horrid, between two and three thousand killed, few or none being made prisoners. Sixteen colours, with all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Hurry, though an unprincipled mercenary, had abstained from wasting by fire and sword the possessions of the anti-covenanters, and consequently had provoked no retaliations; but Montrose, more ferocious than

ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire; Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and "sic lands as were left unburnt up before were now burnt up." Hurry, in the meantime, was allowed the quiet possession of Inverness.

On the very day that Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, Baillie had come to Cairn-a-mount on his way to join him. He had just ravaged Athol, and the Highlanders were on their way for its rescue, when he was ordered to the north; and by the Cairn-a-mount came to Cromar, where he learned the fate of his colleague at Auldearn. On the 19th of May he broke up his camp at Cromar, having peremptory orders to hazard a battle. He himself had experience sufficient to instruct him in the danger of leading a few raw and dispirited troops against an army of so much experience and so much confidence as 'that of Montrose; but having no alternative, he marched to Cochlarachie, whence he could discern Montrose's army in number, as he supposed, nearly equal to his own, encamped among some enclosures in the neighbourhood of that town. The same night he was joined by Hurry, with a hundred horse, the remnants of the army that had fought at Auldearn, with whom he had fought his way through Montrose's very lines. Next morning he expected to have had an encounter, but to his surprise Montrose was fled. He was followed at some distance by Baillie, but he took up an impregnable position in Badenoch, where he awaited the return of M'Coll and his reinforcements, having it in his power to draw from the interior of that wild district abundant supplies. Baillie, on the contrary, could not find subsistence, and withdrew to Inverness to recruit his commissariat; which having accomplished, he came south and encamped at Newton in the Garioch.

Montrose, in the meantime, penetrated as far as Newtyle in Angus, anticipating an easy victory over the earl of Crawford, who lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, composed of draughts from the old for the protection of the Lowlands. When on the point of surprising this force, he was called to march to the assistance of the Gordons, whose lands Baillie was cruelly ravaging. On the last day of June, he came up with Baillie, advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, and, declining to attack him, sent a message that he would fight him on plain ground. Baillie still wished to choose his own time and his own way of fighting; and Montrose recrossed the Don, as if he designed to fall back upon the Lowlands. This had the desired effect, and Baillie was compelled, by his overseeing committee, to pursue. On the 2d of July the two armies again met. Montrose had taken post on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh in his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, the whole of the Irish, the M'Donalds of Glengarry and Clanronald, the M'Phersons from Badenoch, and some small septs from Athol, the whole amounting to three thousand men. Baillie, on the other hand, had only thirteen hundred foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of lord Balcarras', and Halket's horse regiment. Montrose, having double the number of infantry to Baillie, drew up his army in lines six file deep, with two bodies of reserve. Baillie formed also in line, but only three file deep, and he had no reserve. Balcarras, who commanded the horse, which were divided into three squadrons, charged gallantly with two; but the third, when ordered to attack in flank, drew up behind their comrades, where they stood till the others were broken by the Gordons. The foot, commanded by Baillie in person, fought desperately, refusing to yield even after the horse had fled; nor was it till Montrose had brought up his reserve, that the little band

was overpowered and finally discomfited. The victory was complete, but Montrose had to lament the death of lord Gordon, whose funeral he celebrated shortly after the engagement with great military pomp at Aberdeen. No sooner had he accomplished this, than he sent a party into Buchan, which had hitherto, from its insular situation, escaped the calamitous visitations that had fallen upon most places in the north, to bring away all the horses, for the purpose of furnishing out a body of cavalry. It was also proposed to send two thousand men into Strathnaver, to bring the marquis of Huntly safely home through the hostile clans that lay in his way. Hearing of the army that was assembling against him at Perth, however, he laid aside that project, and hastened south to the little town of Fordun in Kincardineshire, where he waited for M'Coll, who very soon arrived with seven hundred M'Leans, and the whole of the Clanronald, amounting to five hundred men, at the head of whom was John Muidartach, who is celebrated in the Highlands to this day for his singular exploits. Graham of Inchbrackie brought the Athol Highlanders in full force, with the M'Gregors, the M'Nabs, the StUARTs of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, with many other clans of smaller number and inferior note. With this force, which mustered between five and six thousand men, about the end of July, Montrose came down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able to disperse their army before it came to any head, or even to cut off the whole members of the government. After he had made frequent flourishes as if he meant to attack them, the army at Perth, being considerably strengthened, moved forward to offer him battle, when he once more betook himself to the hills to wait for reinforcements. Having received all the reinforcements he was likely to get, and more a great deal than he could expect to keep for any length of time without action and plunder, he marched back again, offering the army of Perth battle, which they did not accept. Not daring to attack their position, he passed to Kinross, hoping to draw them into a situation where they could be attacked with advantage, or to escape them altogether and make his way into England. Baillie followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh, and was joined upon his march by the three Fife regiments.

From Kinross, Montrose suddenly took his route for Stirling bridge; and in passing down the vale of the Devon burned castle Campbell, the beautiful seat of the earl of Argyll; he burned also all the houses in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart; and while he and his chief officers were feasted sumptuously by the earl of Marr, his Irish auxiliaries plundered the town of Alloa. Stirling being at this time visited by the plague, Montrose did not approach it, but, going further up the river, crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. Baillie's army marched close upon his track down the Devon, passed the Forth by the bridge of Stirling, and on the 14th of August, was led forward to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence to a place called Hollan-bush, about four miles to the east of Kilsyth, where it encamped for the night. In the whole warfare that had been waged with Montrose, the game had been played into his hand, and on this occasion it was more so than ever. He had taken up his ground with mature deliberation, and he had prepared his men by refreshments, and by every possible means for the encounter. The covenanters, on the other hand, after a toilsome march across the country, took up a position, which the general was not allowed to retain. Contrary to his own judgment, he was ordered to occupy a hill which the enemy, if they had chosen so to do, could have occupied before him. The orders of the committee, however, were obeyed, the change of ground was made; and while it was making, a company of cuirassiers, drew from Montrose a remark, "that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cased in

icn. To show our contempt of them let us fight them in our shirts.' With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves; the foot stripped themselves naked, even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The consequence was, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which apace six thousand men were cut down and slain.

The victory of Kilsyth gave to Montrose almost the entire power of Scotland; there was not the shadow of an army to oppose him; nor was there in the kingdom any authority that could direct one if there had. What he had formerly boasted, in his letter to Charles, would now most certainly have been realised had he possessed either moral or political influence. He possessed neither. His power lay entirely in the sword, and it was a consequence of the savage warfare which he had waged, that he was most odious to his countrymen in general, few of whom loved him, and still fewer dared to trust him. Notwithstanding the submissions he received from all quarters, there was nothing that with propriety he could have done but to have taken refuge for another quarter of a year in the wilds of Badenoch. He was gratified, however, with submissions from many quarters during the days he remained at Glasgow and Bothwell, at both which places he fancied himself in the exercise of regal authority. He had now his commission as lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and general of all his majesty's forces there. He was empowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England, and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there; also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state prisoners as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood on whom he would. By another commission he was empowered to call a parliament at Glasgow on the 28th of October next, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war, and the settlement of the kingdom. He proceeded to knight his associate Macdonald, and he summoned the parliament which was never to meet. His mountaineers requested liberty, which, if he had refused, they would have taken, to depart with their plunder. The Gordons retired with their chief in disgust, and Alister, now Sir Alister M'Coll, as there was no longer an army in Scotland, seized the opportunity to renew his spoliations and revenge his private feuds in Argyleshire.

To save his army from total annihilation, Montrose turned his views to the south. Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair, had spoken favourably toward the royal cause, and he expected to have been joined by them with their followers, and a body of horse which the king had despatched to his assistance, under lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. This party, however, was totally routed in coming through Yorkshire. A party which these two leaders attempted to raise in Lancashire was finally dispersed on Carlisle sands, a short while before Montrose set out to effect a junction with them; and while he waited near the borders for the promised aid of the three neighbouring earls, David Leslie surprised him at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, giving as complete an overthrow as he had ever given to the feeblest of his opponents, on the 13th of September, 1645. One thousand royalists were left dead on the field; and one hundred of the Irish, taken prisoners, according to an ordinance of the parliaments of both kingdoms, were afterwards shot. Montrose made his escape from the field with a few followers, and reached Athol in safety, where he was able still to raise about four hundred men. Huntly had now left his concealment; but he could not be prevailed



on to join Montrose. Disappointed in his attempts to gain Huntly, Montrose returned by Braemar into Athol, and thence to Lennox, where he quartered for some time on the lands of the Buchanans, and hovered about Glasgow till the execution of his three friends, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquhar, gave him warning to withdraw to a safer neighbourhood. He accordingly once more withdrew to Athol. In the month of December he laid siege to Inverness, before which he lay for several weeks, till Middleton came upon him with a small force, when he fled into Ross-shire. The spring of 1645 he spent in marching and countermarching, constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rising among the Highland septs, but constantly unsuccessful. On the last day of May he was informed of the king's surrender to the Scottish army, and, at the same time, received his majesty's order to disband his forces and withdraw from the kingdom. Through the influence of the duke of Hamilton, whose personal enemy he had been, he procured an indemnity for his followers, with liberty for himself to remain one month at his own house for settling his affairs, and afterwards to retire to the continent. He embarked in a small vessel for Norway on the 3d of September, 1646, taking his chaplain, Dr Wishart, along with him, for whose servant he passed during the voyage, being afraid of his enemies capturing him on the passage.

From Norway, he proceeded to Paris, where he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance of Henrietta Maria, the queen, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his now captive sovereign. It was not, however, thought expedient by either Charles or his consort, to employ him again in behalf of the royal cause, on account of the invincible hatred with which he was regarded by all classes of his countrymen. In consequence of this he went into Germany, and offered his services to the emperor, who honoured him with the rank of *mareschal*, and gave him a commission to raise a regiment. He was busied in levying this corps, when he received the news of the king's death, which deeply affected him. He was cheered, however, by a message soon after to repair to the son of the late king, afterwards Charles II., at the Hague, for the purpose of receiving a commission for a new invasion of his native country. With a view to this expedition, he undertook a tour through several of the northern states of Europe, under the character of ambassador for the king of Great Britain, and so ardently did he advocate the cause of depressed loyalty, that he received a considerable sum of money from the king of Denmark, fifteen hundred stand of arms from the queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the duke of Holstein, and from the state of Holstein and Hamburg between six and seven hundred men. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous, he despatched a part of his troops thither so early as September, 1649; but of twelve hundred whom he embarked, only two hundred landed in Orkney, the rest perishing by shipwreck.

It was about this time, that in an overflowing fit of loyalty, he is alleged to have superintended the disgraceful assassination of Dorislaus, the envoy of the English parliament at the Hague; on which account young Charles was under the necessity of leaving the estates. When Montrose arrived in the Orkneys in the month of March, 1650, with the small remainder of his forces, he found that from a difference between the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, to the latter of whom he had himself granted a commission to be commander, but the former of whom claimed the right to command in virtue of his being lord of the islands, there had been no progress made in the business. He brought along only five hundred foreigners, officered by Scotsmen, which, with the two hundred formerly sent, gave him only seven hundred men. To these, by the aid

of several loyal gentlemen, he was able to add about eight hundred Orcadians, who from their unwarlike habits, and their disinclination to the service, added little to his effective strength. After a residence in Orkney of three weeks, he embarked the whole of his forces, fifteen hundred in number, at the Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing boats, and landed in safety near John O'Groats's house. Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross had been exempted in the late disturbances from those ravages that had overtaken every place south of Inverness, and Montrose calculated on a regiment from each of them. For this purpose he had brought a great banner along with him, on which was painted the corpse of Charles I. the head being separated from the trunk, with the motto that was used for the murdered Darnley, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." It had no effect, however, upon the simple natives of these regions, except to excite their aversion, and they every where fled before him.

In order to secure a retreat to the Orkneys, the castle of Dunbeath was taken possession of, and strongly garrisoned by Montrose. Five hundred men were also sent forward to occupy the hill of Ord, which they accomplished just as the earl of Sutherland was advancing to take possession of it. Sutherland retired rapidly before him, leaving his houses of Dunnechin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dernoch, under strong garrisons for the protection of his lands. Montrose, mortified to find in Sutherland the same aversion to him as in Caithness, and confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, sent a message to the earl of Sutherland, threatening to subject his estates to military execution if he continued to neglect his duty and the royal cause. Colonel Strachan had, however, by this time reached Tain, where he met with his lordship and his friends the Rosses and Munroes, to the amount of five or six hundred men. Here it was determined that Sutherland should get behind Montrose, so as to prevent his retreat to the north, while Strachan with four troops of horse, assisted by the Rosses and Munroes, should march up in his front. When within two miles of him, they concealed themselves in a field of broom, and sent out scouts to observe the motions and calculate the strength he had brought along with him. Finding that Montrose had just sent out a party of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should keep hid in the broom, one troop of horse excepted, which might lead him to think he had no more to contend with. This had the desired effect. Montrose took no pains to strengthen his position but placing his horse a little in advance, waited their approach on a piece of low ground close by the mouth of the river Kyle. Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts, the first of which he commanded in person; and it was his intention, that while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining parties should come up in quick succession, and at once overwhelm him with the announcement that he was surprised by a large army. The plan was completely successful. Montrose no sooner saw the strength of the presbyterians, than, alarmed for the safety of his foot, he ordered them to retire to a craggy hill behind his position. Strachan, however, made such haste that though it was very bad riding ground, he overtook the retiring invaders before they could reach their place of refuge. The mercenaries alone showed any disposition to resist—the rest threw down their arms without so much as firing a shot. Montrose fought with desperate valour, but to no avail. He could only save himself by flight. The carnage, considering the number of the combatants, was dreadful. Several hundred were slain, and upwards of four hundred taken prisoners. On the part of the victors only two men were wounded and one drowned. The principal standard of the enemy, and all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Montrose, who fled from the field upon his friend the young viscount Fren-draught's horse, his own being killed in the battle, rode for some space with a friend or two that made their escape along with him; but the ground becoming bad, he abandoned in succession his horse, his friends, and his cloak, star, and sword, and exchanging clothes with a Highland rustic, toiled along the valley on foot. Ignorant of the locality of the country, he knew not so much as where he was going, except that he believed he was leaving his enemies behind him, in which he was fatally mistaken. His pursuers had found in succession, his horse, his cloak, and his sword, by which they conjectured that he had fled into Assynt; and accordingly the proprietor, Neil Macleod, was enjoined to apprehend any stranger he might find upon his ground. Parties were immediately sent out, and by one of them he was apprehended, along with an officer of the name of Sinclair. The laird of Assynt had served under Montrose; but was now alike regardless of the promises and the threatenings of his old commander. The fugitive was unrelentingly delivered up to general Leslie, and by Strachan and Halket conducted in the same mean habit in which he was taken, towards Edinburgh. At the house of the laird of Grange, near Dundee, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady had very nearly effected his escape. He had been ex-communicated by the church and forfeited by the parliament so far back as 1644, and now sentence was pronounced against him before he was brought to Edinburgh. His reception in the capital was that of a condemned traitor, and many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him; in braving which he became, what he could never otherwise have been, in some degree an object of popular sympathy. He was executed on Tuesday the 21st of May, 1650, in a dress the most splendid that he could command, and with the history of his achievements tied round his neck; defending with his latest breath his exertions in behalf of distressed royalty, and declaring that his conscience was completely at rest. His limbs were afterwards exposed with useless barbarity at the gates of the principal towns in Scotland.

Montrose appeared to cardinal du Retz as a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch, being inspired by all the ideas and sentiments which animated the classic personages whom that writer has commemorated. He certainly is entitled to the praise of great military genius, of uncompromising ardour of purpose, and of a boldness both in the conception and execution of great designs, such as are rarely found in any class of men. It is not to be denied, however, that ambition was nearly his highest principle of action, and that the attainment of his objects was too often sought at the expense of humanity. As might be expected, his memory was too much cherished by his own party, and unreasonably detested by the other; but historical truth now dictates that he had both his glorious and his dark features, all of which were alike the characteristics of a great and pregnant mind, soaring beyond the sphere assigned to it; but hardly knowing how to pursue greatness with virtue.

GRAHAM, JOHN, viscount of Dundee, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, an estate with an old castle attached near Dundee. The family of Claverhouse was a branch of that of Montrose, and the mother of the subject of this memoir was lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John, first earl of Northesk. Young Graham was educated between 1660 and 1670, at St Andrews university, where he distinguished himself by a proficiency in mathematics, by an enthusiastic passion for Highland poetry, and the zeal inherited from his family in behalf of the then established order of things in church and state. His abilities recommended him to the attention of archbishop Sharpe, whose death he afterwards revenged by so many severities. He com-

menaced his military career as a volunteer in the French service, and when the British war with Holland was concluded, became a cornet in the guards of the prince of Orange, whose life he saved at the battle of Seneff, in the year 1674; a service for which he was rewarded by receiving a captain's commission in the same corps. One of the Scottish regiments in the service of the States shortly after becoming vacant, from the favour of the prince, and his interest with the court of England, Graham was induced to offer himself as a candidate for it. It was, however, carried against him, in consequence of which he determined to abandon the Dutch service, and in 1677 returned to Scotland, bringing with him particular recommendations from the prince of Orange to king Charles, who appointed him captain to the first of three troops of horse which he was raising at that time for enforcing compliance with the established religion. Of all who were employed in this odious service, captain Graham was the most indefatigable and unrelenting. His dragoons were styled by the less serious part of the people, *the ruling elders of the church*; and recusancy was the great crime they had it in charge to repress. Conventicles, as they were called, the peaceable assemblies of the people in the open fields, to hear from their own ministers the word of God, were the objects against which Clavers, as he was called in contempt, had it in charge to wage an exterminating warfare; and to discover and bring to punishment such as frequented them, he spared not to practise the most detestable cruelties. But though the subject of this memoir was the most forward and violent, he was not the sole persecutor of the field preachers and their adherents. In every quarter of the country, particularly in the shire of Fife, and in the southern and western counties—there was a Sharp, an Earlsall, a Johnston, a Baunatyne, a Grierson, an Oglethorpe, or a Main, with each a host of inferior tyrants, who acted under him as spies and informers—in consequence of whose procedure no man was for a moment safe in his life or his property, either in house or in field, at home or abroad. Arms, of course, were necessarily resorted to by the sufferers, and a party of them falling in by accident with the primate Sharpe, in the beginning of May, 1679, put him to death, which excited the fears, and, of course, the rage of the whole of the dominant party to the highest pitch of extravagance; and in pursuit of the actors in that affair, and to put down all conventicles by the way, Claverhouse and his dragoons, with a party of foot, were immediately sent to the west.

Meanwhile a party in arms had assembled in Evandale, to the number of eighty persons, with Robert Hamilton of Preston at their head, and came to Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration—extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the day—and having burned the act of supremacy, the declaration, &c., published at the market cross of that burgh, a short testimony against all these acts, since known by the name of the Rutherglen Declaration, returned to Evandale. Sermon having been announced by some of their preachers on the approaching Sunday, June the first, in the neighbourhood of Loudon hill; Claverhouse, who it appears was either in Glasgow or its neighbourhood at the time, and had information both of what they had done and of what they intended to do, followed almost upon their heels, and on Saturday the 31st of May, surprised and made prisoners in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Mr John King, and seventeen persons on their way to join the meeting at Loudon-hill. Tying his prisoners together, two and two, and driving them before him like cattle, to be witnesses to the murder of their brethren, he hasted on Sunday morning early, by the way of Strathaven, to surprise them before they should have time to be fully assembled. The service, however, was begun by Mr Thomas Douglas, who had been an actor in the publication of the Rutherglen Declaration on the preceding Thursday, before he could come

up; and having notice of his approach, about fifty horsemen, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred foot left the meeting, and met their persecutors at Drumclog, where, being united in heart and mind, and properly conducted, they in a few minutes routed the royal troops. Claverhouse himself narrowly escaped, with the loss of his colours, between thirty and forty of his men, and all his prisoners. Of the country people there were not above three killed and but few wounded. Claverhouse fled with the utmost precipitation to Glasgow, where he had left the lord Ross with a number of troops; and, had the covenanters pursued him, they might have been masters of the city the same day. They waited, however, till next day, before they attacked Glasgow, and the streets having been barricaded, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the troops, who were thus enabled to fight under cover. As the countrymen took up ground at no great distance, and as their numbers were rapidly augmenting, Claverhouse and lord Ross did not think it prudent to attempt keeping possession of Glasgow, but on the 3d of June, retreated towards Stirling, carrying along with them in carts a number of the wounded countrymen that had fallen into their hands, and on Larbert muir, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, were joined by a body of the king's forces under the earl of Linlithgow. Still they did not think themselves a match for the covenanters, and wrote to the council that it was the general sense of the officers, that his majesty should be written to for assistance from England without loss of time.

The duke of Monmouth was in consequence appointed to the command of the army; the whole of the militia were called out, and two regiments of dragoons under Oglethorpe and Main, then in summer quarters in the north of England, ordered to join them. On the 17th, Monmouth arrived at Edinburgh. He joined the army, which had been increased to upwards of ten thousand men, on the 19th, and on Sunday the 22d, confronted the poor insurgents in their original encampment upon Hamilton muir, and instead of making preparations to receive an enemy, quarrelling about the manner in which their grievances should be stated, or whether they were to supplicate or to fight; yet a part of the countrymen, with some pieces of cannon, stationed to defend the passage of Bothwell bridge, behaved with the coolness of veteran troops. After having maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of an hour, this little band of heroes were obliged to retreat for the want of ammunition. Monmouth's whole force crossed by the bridge, and it was no longer a battle but a disorderly rout, every individual shifting for himself in the way he thought best. Claverhouse requested that he might be allowed to sack and to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, Strathaven, and the adjacent country, for the countenance they had given to the rebels, as he termed them, but in reality for the sake of spoil, and to gratify a spirit of revenge for the affront he sustained at Drumclog. This, however, the duke had too much humanity to permit. But he had abundant room for satiating his revenge afterwards, being sent into the west with the most absolute powers; which he exercised in such a manner as has made his very name an execration to this day.

In 1682, Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of Wigton, in which office his brother, David Graham was joined with him the year following. To particularize the murders and the robberies committed by the brothers, in the exercise of their civil and military callings, would require a volume. Ensnaring oaths and healths, Claverhouse himself had ever at his finger ends; and if any refused these, they were instantly dragged to prison, provided there was a prospect of making any thing out of them in the way of money; otherwise they had the advantage of being killed on the spot, though sometimes not without being victims of the most refined cruelty. This was particularly the cause with regard to John

Brown styled the Christian Carrier, whom Claverhouse laid hold of in a summer morning in 1685, going to his work in the fields. Intending to kill this innocent and worthy person, the persecutor brought him back to his own house, and subjected him to a long examination, before his wife and family. Being solidly and seriously answered, he tauntingly inquired at his prisoner if he was a preacher; and in the same spirit, when answered in the negative, remarked, "If he had never preached meikle, he had prayed in his time;" informing him at the same time that he was instantly to die. The poor unoffending victim addressed himself to the duty of prayer, along with his family, with all the fervour of a devout mind in the immediate prospect of eternity, and thrice by Claverhouse was interrupted by the remark, that he had got time to pray, but was beginning to preach. With one simple reply, that he knew neither the nature of praying nor preaching, the good man went on and concluded his address, without the smallest confusion. He was then commanded to take farewell of his wife and children, which he did with the most resigned composure, kissing them individually and wishing all purchased and promised blessings, along with his own, to be multiplied upon them. A volley from six of the troopers then scattered his head in fragments upon the ground; when Claverhouse, mounting his horse, as if to insult the sorrows of the woman whom he had thus wickedly made a widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I thought ever much of him," was the reply "and now as much as ever."—"It were justice," said he, "to lay thee beside him."—"If ye were permitted," said the much injured woman, "I doubt not but your cruelty would carry you that length; but how will you make answer for this morning's work?"—"To man I can be answerable," said the audacious tyrant, "and for God, I will take him in mine own hand;" and putting spurs to his horse, galloped off, leaving the woman with her bereaved babes, and the corpse of her murdered husband, without a friend or neighbour that was not at some miles distance. The poor woman, borrowing strength from her despair, meantime set down her infant on the ground, gathered and tied up the scattered brains of her husband, straightened his body, wrapping it up in her plaid, and, with her infants around her, sat down and wept over him. Claverhouse had, in the year previous to this, been constituted captain of the royal regiment of horse, was sworn a privy councillor, and had a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope, and along with it the constabularyship of Dundee, then in the hands of Lauderdale, upon paying a sum of money to the chancellor.

On the accession of James VII. he was left out of the privy council, on pretence, that having married into the family of Dundonald, it was not fit that he should be intrusted with the king's secrets. He was very soon, however, restored to his place in the council, had the rank of a brigadier-general bestowed on him in 1686, and some time afterwards, that of major-general. On the 19th of November, 1688, being then with the king in London, he was created a peer, by the title of viscount of Dundee and lord Graham of Claverhouse. This was a week after William prince of Orange had landed to reverse the order of things under which his lordship had reaped so much honour and preferment. When his majesty withdrew to Rochester, Lord Dundee strongly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, promising to collect ten thousand of his disbanded soldiers, to march through England, driving the prince of Orange before him. Happily for the country, and perhaps for Dundee, his advice was not taken, and still meditating mischief, he came to Edinburgh, bringing a troop of sixty horse along with him, which had deserted from his regiment in England. The westland men, however, who had come into the city of Edinburgh to protect the convention, till regularly author-

ized troops should be raised, had their eye upon him, as one who ought to be called to account for the many slaughters he had committed; and suspecting that he intended by the help of his dragoons, to add that of the lords Crawford and Cardross to the number, they mounted guard upon the lodgings of these two noblemen. This seemed to give great uneasiness to the lord Dundee, who in the convention which he attended only for a few days, was always putting the question, what was meant by bringing in the rabble; which not being answered to his lordship's mind, he thought it prudent to retire from the city. General Mackay with fifteen troops of horse, by orders from the convention, pursued him through the shires of Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn. On the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with one hundred and fifty horse, joined Macdonald of Keppoch, who with nine hundred men had invested Inverness, partly because they had proclaimed the prince of Orange king, and partly for assisting the M'Intoshes, with whom he was at odds. The town, however, compromised the matter by a gift to Keppoch of two thousand dollars, Dundee acting the part of a mediator between them. He offered himself in the same character to M'Intosh; but the chieftain refused to submit to his dictation, for which they drove away his cattle, and divided them,—part to the use of the army, and part to Keppoch's tenants. After having subsisted upon this booty along with Keppoch for upwards of six weeks, he, with his hundred and fifty horse, came unexpectedly upon the town of Perth, where he made some prisoners, seized upon a number of horses, and appropriated nine thousand marks of the king's cess and excise. From Perth he marched upon Dundee, but the citizens shut their gates against him; and, unable to force an entrance, he turned aside to his own house at Dudhope. After occupying this mansion two nights he returned to Keppoch, whence, after a residence of six weeks, he marched into Badenoch to meet general Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had an army of nearly two thousand foot and upwards of two hundred horse. Mackay and Grant, though superior in numbers, retreated before him till they had passed Strathbogie. Dundee pursued with great ardour till he came to Edinglassy, where he learned that Mackay had received considerable reinforcements: after resting a few days, he returned to Keppoch. Here, besides recruits from Ireland, he was joined by Macdonald of the Isles with five hundred men, by Macdonald of Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, each with a body of retainers eager to be led against the Sassenach, for the sake of their expatriated sovereign. Thus reinforced with an army of two thousand five hundred men, he advanced upon Blair in Athol. General Mackay being at Perth, hastened to meet him with an army of three thousand foot and two troops of horse. Marching through the pass of Killicranky, he found Dundee with his army posted on an eminence, ready to attack him as he emerged from that dangerous defile. Having little choice of position, Mackay drew up his men in line, three deep, as they could clear the defile, having a narrow plain before them, and behind them the craggy eminences they had just passed, and the deep and rapid water of Tummel. Dundee's army was formed in dense masses, according to their clans, on an opposite eminence; whence about an hour before sunset they descended, in their shirts and doublets, with the violence of their own mountain torrents; and, though they received three fires, which killed a great number of them, before they reached Mackay's lines, their attack was such as in the course of a few minutes threw nearly his whole force into irretrievable confusion. One or two of his regiments happily stood unbroken; and while he hastened with these to secure an orderly retreat, Dundee rode up at full speed to lend on the Macdonalds, to complete the victory: but as he was pointing them on to the attack, a random shot struck him below the armpit, and

he fell from his horse mortally wounded. He was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where he died the same night, July 27, 1689. In his grave were buried the fruits of his victory, and for a time the best hopes of his party, who, while they eulogized his character in the language of unmeasured panegyric, could not help seeing that the cause of legitimacy, in Scotland, perished with him. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this anticipation was fully justified by the event.

Lord Dundee was married to the honourable Jean Cochrane, third and youngest daughter of lord William Cochrane, brother to the earl of Dundonald, by whom he had issue one son, who died in infancy. Of his character, after the brief detail which we have given of his actions, it is scarcely necessary to speak more particularly. That he was free from many of the debasing vices which disgraced the greater part of his associates, we have seen no reason to doubt; but if he was less sensual, he was more haughty, more perseveringly active, and more uniformly and unrelentingly cruel in the exercise of those illegal powers which he was called upon by a most unprincipled court to exercise, than all his coadjutors put together.

GRAINGER, JAMES, a physician and poet of some eminence, was born in Dundee, about the year 1723. After receiving such education as his native town afforded, he came to Edinburgh, and was bound apprentice to a Mr Lauder, a surgeon. While in the employment of this gentleman, he studied the various branches of medicine; and having qualified himself for practice, joined the army, and served as surgeon to lieutenant Pulteney's regiment of foot, during the rebellion in Scotland of 1745. On the conclusion of the war, Grainger went in the same capacity to Germany, but again returned to England at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He now sold his commission, and entered upon practice in London, but without much success. In 1753 he published a treatise in Latin on some diseases peculiar to the army, entitled "*Historia Febris Intermit-tentis Armatorum, 1746, 1747, 1748.*" In the medical knowledge, however, which this work contained, and which evinced much learning and skill, together with acuteness of observation, he was, unfortunately for his interest, anticipated by Sir John Pringle in his celebrated work on the diseases of the army.

During Dr Grainger's residence in London, he became intimately acquainted with many of the men of genius then resident there; amongst these were Shenstone, Dr Percy, Glover, Dr Johnson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; by all of whom he was much esteemed for his amiable manners, and respected for his talents.

The poetical genius of Dr Grainger was first made known by his publishing an "*Ode on Solitude*," which met with a favourable reception, and was, although now perhaps but little known, much praised by the reviewers of the day. His want of professional success now compelled him to look to his literary talents for that support which his medical practice denied him, and he endeavoured to eke out a scanty livelihood by writing for booksellers; and in this way he was employed by Mr Miller in compiling the second volume of Maitland's history of Scotland, from the materials left by the latter at his death.

In 1758, he published a translation of the "*Elegies of Tibullus*." This work was severely handled in the critical reviews, where it was allowed none of the merit which in reality it possesses.

Dr Grainger now got involved in a controversy with Smollett, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. The cause of their difference is not now known, but if it bore any proportion to the severity with which Smollett on all occasions treated his quondam friend, it must have been a serious one. He abused Dr Grainger in every possible shape, availed himself of every oppor-



tunity of reviling and humiliating him, and pursued his system of hostility with the most unrelenting bitterness.

Soon after the publication of the "Elegies," Dr Grainger went out as a physician to the island of St Christopher's, where an advantageous settlement had been offered him. On the voyage out he formed an acquaintance, in his professional capacity, with the wife and daughter of Matthew Burt, esq., the governor of St Christopher's; the latter of whom he married soon after his arrival on the island. Having thus formed a connexion with some of the principal families, he there commenced his career with every prospect of success. To his medical avocations he now added those of a planter, and by their united profits soon realized an independency.

On the conclusion of the war, Dr Grainger returned for a short time to England. While there, he published (1764) the result of his West India experience, in a poem entitled the "Sugar Cane." This work was also much praised at the time, and certainly does possess many passages of great beauty; but without arraigning the author's talents, since his subject precluded any thing like sentiment or dignity, it cannot be considered in any other light, than as an ill-judged attempt to elevate things in themselves mean and wholly unadapted for poetry.

In the same year (1764) he also published "An Essay on the more common West India diseases, and the remedies which that country itself produces; to which are added, some hints on the management of negroes." Besides these works, Dr Grainger was the author of an exceedingly pleasing ballad, entitled "Bryan and Pereene." After a short residence in England, he returned to St Christopher's, where he died on the 24th December, 1767, of one of those epidemic fevers so common in the West Indies.

GRANT, SIR FRANCIS, of Cullen, a judge and political writer, was the son of Archibald Grant of Bellinton,<sup>1</sup> in the north of Scotland, a cadet of the family of Grant of Grant, the various branches of which, at that period, joined the same political party, which was supported by the subject of this memoir. He was born about the year 1660, and received the elementary part of his education at one of the universities of Aberdeen. He was destined for the profession of the law; and as at that period there were no regular institutions for the attainment of legal knowledge in Scotland, and the eminent schools of law on the continent furnished admirable instruction in the civil law of Rome, on which the principles of the greater part of the Scottish system are founded,—along with most of the aspirants at the Scottish bar, Mr Grant pursued his professional studies at Leyden, where he had the good fortune to be under the auspices of the illustrious commentator John Voet; an advantage by which he is said to have so far profited, that the great civilian retained and expressed for years afterwards a high opinion of his diligence and attainments, and recommended to his other students the example of his young Scottish pupil. He seems indeed to have borne through his whole life a character remarkable for docility, modesty, and unobtrusive firmness, which procured him the countenance and respect of his seniors, and brought him honours to which he did not apparently aspire. Immediately on his return to Scotland, and in consequence of the exhibition of his qualifications at the trial preparatory to his passing at the bar, we find him attracting the notice of Sir George M'Kenzie, then lord advocate, at the head of the Scottish bar, and in the full enjoyment of his wide-spread reputation; a circumstance creditable to the feelings of both, and which must have

<sup>1</sup> Such is his paternity, as given in Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, on the authority of Milne's genealogical MS. Wodrow, in one of his miscellaneous manuscripts, says, he understood him to be the son of a clergyman.

been peculiarly gratifying to the younger man, from the circumstance of his early displaying a determined opposition to the political measures of the lord advocate. Mr Grant was only twenty-eight years of age, when he took an active part in that memorable convention which sat in the earlier part of the year 1689, to decide on the claims of the prince of Orange; and when older politicians vacillated, and looked to accident for the direction of their future conduct, he boldly adopted his line of politics, and argued strongly, and it would appear not without effect, that the only fit course to pursue, was to bestow on the prince the full right of sovereignty, with those limitations only which a care for the integrity of the constitution might dictate, and without any insidious provisions which might afterwards distract the nation, by a recurrence of the claims of the house of Stuart. His zeal for the cause he had adopted prompted him at that juncture to publish a small controversial work, which he called, "The Loyalist's Reasons for his giving obedience, and swearing allegiance to the present Government, as being obliged thereto, by (it being founded on) the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and Civil, by F. G." In the freedom of modern political discussion, the arguments which were produced as reasons for a change of government would appear a little singular; the whole is a point of law tightly argued, as if fitted to meet the eye of a cool and skilful judge, who has nothing to do but to discover its accordance or disagreement with the letter of the law. The ground, however, upon which he has met his adversaries is strictly of their own choosing, and the advocate for a revolution seems to have adhered with all due strictness to relevancy and sound law. He founds his arguments on certain postulates, from which, and the facts of the case, he deduces that king James had forfeited his superiority, by committing a grand feudal delict against his vassals; and the throne being thus vacated, he shows, in several theses, that the prince of Orange had made a conquest of the same, and had relinquished its disposal to the country, and the country having thus the choice of a ruler, ought to bestow the government on the generous conqueror. The whole is wound up by several corollaries, in a strictly syllogistic form. The reasonings are those of an acute lawyer, well interspersed with authorities from the civil and feudal law; and it may easily be presumed, that such reasoning, when applied judiciously and coolly to the subject, had more effect on the restricted intellect of the age, than the eloquence of Dalrymple, or the energy of Hamilton. Indeed the effect of the work in reconciling the feudalized minds of the Scottish gentry to the alteration, is said to have been practical and apparent; and while the author received honours and emoluments from the crown, his prudence and firmness made him respected by the party he had opposed.

The tide of Mr Grant's fortune continued to flow with steadiness from the period of this successful attempt in the political world, and he was constantly in the eye of government as a trustworthy person, whose services might be useful for furthering its measures in these precarious times. With such views, a baronetcy was bestowed on him, unexpectedly and without solicitation, in the year 1705, preparatory to the general discussion of the union of the kingdoms; and after the consummation of that measure, he was raised to the bench, where he took his seat as lord Cullen, in the year 1709. He is said to have added to the numberless controversial pamphlets on the union; and if certain pamphlets called "Essays on removing the National prejudices against a union," to which some one has attached his name, be really from his pen, (which, from the circumstance under which they bear to have been written, is rather doubtful,) they show him to have entered into the subject with a liberality of judgment, and an extent of information seldom exhibited in such controversies, and to have possessed a peculiarly acute foresight of the advantages of an interchange of com-

merce and privileges. Lord Cullen was a warm friend to the church of Scotland, a maintainer of its pristine purity, and of what is more essential than the form, or even the doctrine of any church, the means of preserving its moral influence on the character and habits of the people. "He was," says Wodrow, "very useful for the executing of the laws against immorality." The power of the judicature of a nation over its morality, is a subject to which he seems to have long paid much attention. We find him, in the year 1700, publishing a tract entitled, "A brief account of the Rise, Nature, and Progress of the Societies for the Reformation of manners, &c. in England, with a preface exhorting the use of such Societies in Scotland." This pamphlet embodies an account of the institution and regulation of these societies, by the Rev. Josiah Woodward, which the publisher recommends should be imitated in Scotland. The subject is a delicate and difficult one to a person who looks forward to a strict and impartial administration of the law as a judge, a duty which it is dangerous to combine with that of a discretionary *censor morum*; but, as a private individual, he proposes, as a just and salutary restraint, that such societies should "pretend to no authority or judicatory power, but to consult and endeavour, in subserviency to the magistracy, to promote the execution of the law, by the respective magistrates;" a species of institution often followed by well-meaning men, but which is not without danger. This tract is curious from its having been published for gratis distribution, and as perhaps the earliest practically moral tract which was published for such a purpose in Scotland. The strict religious feeling of the author afterwards displays itself in a pamphlet, called "A short History of the Sabbath, containing some few grounds for its morality, and cases about its observance; with a brief answer to, or anticipation of, several objections against both;" published in 1705. This production aims its attacks at what the author says are improperly termed the innocent recreations of the Sabbath. It has all the qualifications which are necessary to make it be received within the strictest definition of a polemical pamphlet: authorities are gathered together from all quarters of the world; the sacred text is abundantly adduced; and laboured parallels are introduced, in some cases where there is little doubt of the application, in others where it is somewhat difficult to discover it. Controversial tracts are frequently the most interesting productions of any age: they are the ebullition of the feeling of the time. Called out, generally, by the excitement of a critical state of affairs, and unguarded by the thought and reflection bestowed on a lengthened work, they are, next to speeches accurately reported, the best evidence posterity possesses of the character of a public writer. Those which we have already referred to are anonymous; but we have every reason to believe they have been attributed to the proper quarter; and before we leave the subject, we shall take the liberty of referring to one more tract, which we happened to pick up in the same situation, on a subject which, some years ago, deeply occupied the attention of the public, in a position converse to that in which it was presented to the subject of our memoir. The pamphlet is directed against the restoration of church patronage; and it will be remarked that, from the date of its publication, 1703, it appeared several years previously to the passing of the dreaded measure; it is entitled, "Reasons in defence of the standing Laws about the right of Presentation in Patronages, to be offered against an Act (in case it be) presented, for the alteration thereof: by a member of Parliament." The same spirit of acute legal reasoning on rights and property, and the means by which they are affected, to be found in his arguments on the revolution, here, perhaps with better taste, characterize the author; and they are, at all events, merely the conventional colouring of sound and liberal views maintained with discretion and propriety.

Lord Cullen had, as his companions on the bench, Cockburn of Ormiston, M'Kenzie of Royston, Erskine of Dun, and Pringle of Newhall, under the presidency of Sir Hew Dalrymple, son to the celebrated viscount Stair. In the course of seventeen years, during which he filled the responsible station of a judge, and the more than ordinarily responsible situation of a Scottish judge, he is asserted by his friends to have been impartial in the interpretation of the laws, vigilant in their application, and a protector of the poor and persecuted, and, what is more conducive to the credit of the assertion, no enemy has contradicted it. A character of his manner and qualifications is thus given in rather obscure terms by Wodrow:—"His style is dark and intricate, and so were his pleadings at the bar, and his discourses on the bench. One of his fellow senators tells me he was a living library, and the most ready in citation. When the lords wanted any thing in the civil or canon law to be cast up, or acts of parliament, he never failed them, but turned to the place. He seemed a little ambulatory in his judgment as to church government, but was a man of great piety and devotion, wonderfully serious in prayer, and learning the word." It is not improbable, that by the terms "dark and intricate," the historian means, what would now be expressed by "profound and subtle." The confidence which his friends, and the country in general, reposed in his generosity and justice, is said to have been so deeply felt, that on his intimating an intention to dispose of his paternal estate, and invest the proceeds, along with his professional gains, in some other manner, many decayed families offered their shattered estates for his purchase, in the hope that his legal skill, and undeviating equity, might be the means of securing to them some small remnant of the price—the condition of incumbrance to which they had been long subjected, and the improbability of their being enabled, by the intricate courses of the feudal law, to adjust the various securities, forbidding them to expect such a result by any other measure. On this occasion he purchased the estate of Monymusk, still the property of his descendants, and it is nobly recorded of him, that he used his legal acuteness in classing the various demands against the estate, and compromising with the creditors, so as to be enabled to secure a considerable surplus sum to the vender of a property which was burdened to an amount considerably above its value.

Although acute, however, in his management of the business of others, lord Cullen has borne the reputation of having been a most remiss and careless manager of his own affairs; a defect which seems to have been perceived and rectified by his more prudent and calculating spouse, who bore on her own shoulders the whole burden of the family matters. It is narrated that this sagacious lady, finding that the ordinary care which most men bestow on their own business was ineffectual in drawing her husband's attention to the proper legal security of his property, was in the habit, in any case where her mind misgave her as to the probable effect of any measure she wished to adopt, of getting the matter represented to him in the form of a "case," on which his opinion was requested as a lawyer.

This excellent and useful man died at Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1726, of an illness which lasted only two days, but which, from its commencement, was considered mortal, and thus prepared him to meet a speedy death. His friend, Wodrow, stating that the physician had given information of his mortal illness to lord Cullen's brother-in law, Mr Fordyce, thus records the closing scene:—"Mr Fordyce went to him, and signified so much. My lord, after he had told him, smiled and put forth his hand and took my informer by the hand, and said, Brother, you have brought me the best news ever I heard, and signified he was desirous for death, and how welcome a message this was. He had no great pain, and spoke to the edification of all who came to see him,

and that day, and till Wednesday at 12, when he died, was without a cloud, and in full assurance of faith."<sup>1</sup>

Besides the works already mentioned, lord Cullen published "Law, Religion, and Education, considered in three Essays," and "A Key to the Plot, by reflections on the rebellion of 1715." He left behind him three sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, for some time represented the shire of Aberdeen in parliament. The second, William, was a distinguished ornament of the Scottish bar. He was at one time procurator to the church, and principal clerk to the General Assembly. In 1737, he was appointed solicitor-general, and in 1738, lord advocate, an office which he held during the rebellion of 1745; a period which must have tried the virtue of the occupier of such a situation, but which has left him the credit of having, in the words of lord Woodhouselee, performed his duties, "regulated by a principle of equity, tempering the strictness of the law." He succeeded Grant of Elchies on the bench in 1754, taking his seat as lord Prestongrange, and afterwards became lord justice clerk. He was one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and afterwards one of the commissioners for the annexed estates. He died at Bath, in 1764.

GREIG, (Sir) SAMUEL, a distinguished naval officer in the Russian service, was born 30th November, 1735, in the village of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife. Having entered the royal navy at an early period of life, he soon became eminent for his skill in naval affairs, and remarkable for his zeal and attention to the discharge of his duty,—qualities which speedily raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and ultimately opened up to him the brilliant career which he afterwards pursued.

The court of Russia having requested the government of Great Britain to send out some British naval officers of skill to improve the marine of that country, lieutenant Greig had the honour of being selected as one. His superior abilities here also soon attracted the notice of the Russian government, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of captain, the reward of his indefatigable services in improving or rather creating the Russian fleet, which had been previously in the most deplorable state of dilapidation.

On a war some time after breaking out between the Russians and the Turks, captain Greig was sent under the command of count Orlov, with a fleet to the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet, which they met here, was much superior to the Russian in force, the former consisting of fifteen ships of the line, the latter of no more than ten. After a severe and sanguinary but indecisive battle, the Turkish fleet retired during the night close into the island of Scio, where they were protected by the batteries on land. Notwithstanding the formidable position which the enemy had taken up, the Russian admiral determined to pursue, and if possible destroy them by means of his fire-ships. Captain Greig's well known skill and intrepidity pointed him out as the fittest person in the fleet to conduct this dangerous enterprise, and he was accordingly appointed to the command. At one o'clock in the morning captain Greig bore down upon the enemy with his fire-ships, and although greatly harassed by the cowardice of the crews of these vessels, whom he had to keep at their duty by the terrors of sword and pistol, succeeded in totally destroying the Turkish fleet. Captain Greig, on this occasion assisted by another British officer, a lieutenant Drysdale, who acted under him, set the match to the fire ships with his own hands. This perilous duty performed, he and Drysdale leaped overboard and swam to their own boats, under a tremendous fire from the Turks, and at the imminent hazard besides of being destroyed by the explosion of

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's *Annalecta*, MS. v. 175.—Ad. Lib.

their own fire-ships. The Russian fleet, following up this success, now attacked the town and batteries on shore, and by nine o'clock in the morning there was scarcely a vestige remaining of either town, fortifications, or fleet. For this important service, captain Greig, who had been appointed commodore on his being placed in command of the fire-ships, was immediately promoted by count Orlov to the rank of admiral, an appointment which was confirmed by an express from the empress of Russia. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers, but this circumstance did not lessen the importance of admiral Greig's services to the government by which he was employed. He continued indefatigable in his exertions in improving the Russian fleet, remodeling its code of discipline, and by his example infusing a spirit into every department of its economy, which finally made it one of the most formidable marines in Europe.

These important services were fully appreciated by the empress, who rewarded them by promoting Greig to the high rank of admiral of all the Russias, and governor of Cronstadt. Not satisfied with this, she loaded him with honours, bestowing upon him the different orders of the empire, *viz.* St Andrew, St Alexander Newskie, St George, St Vlodimir, and St Anne.

Admiral Greig next distinguished himself against the Swedes, whose fleet he blocked up in port, whilst he himself rode triumphantly in the open seas of the Baltic. Here he was attacked by a violent fever, and having been carried to Revel, died on the 26th of October, 1788, on board of his own ship, the *Rotalaw*, after a few days' illness, in the 53d year of his age. As soon as the empress heard of his illness, she, in the utmost anxiety about a life so valuable to herself and her empire, instantly sent for her first physician, Dr Rogerson, and ordered him to proceed immediately to Revel and to do every thing in his power for the admiral's recovery. Dr Rogerson obeyed, but all his skill was unavailing.

The ceremonial of the admiral's funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp and magnificence. For some days before it took place the body was exposed in state in the hall of the admiralty, and was afterwards conveyed to the grave on a splendid funeral bier drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and attended in public procession by an immense concourse of nobility, clergy, and naval and military officers of all ranks; the whole escorted by large bodies of troops, in different divisions; with tolling of bells and firing of cannon from the ramparts and fleet: every thing in short was calculated to express the sorrow of an empire for the loss of one of its most useful and greatest men.

GREGORY, DAVID, the able commentator on Newton's *Principia*, and Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen on the 24th of June, 1661. His father, Mr David Gregory, brother of the inventor of the reflecting telescope, had been educated as a merchant, and spent a considerable time in Holland; but by the death of his elder brother he became heir to the estate of Kinnairdie, and from a predilection for the mathematics and experimental philosophy, he soon afterwards renounced all commercial employments, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. The peculiarity of Mr Gregory's pursuits, caused him to be noted through the whole country, and he being the first person in Scotland who possessed a barometer, from which he derived an extensive knowledge of the weather, it was universally believed that he held intercourse with the beings of another world. So extensive had this belief been circulated, that a deputation from the presbytery waited on him, and it was only one fortunate circumstance that prevented him from undergoing a formal trial for witchcraft. He had from choice obtained an extensive knowledge of the healing art, his opinion was held in the highest estimation, and as he practised

in all cases without fee, he was of great use in the district where he lived. It was this circumstance alone that prevented the reverend members of the presbytery from calling him to account for his superior intelligence. His son David, the subject of this sketch, studied for a considerable time at Aberdeen, but completed his education at Edinburgh. In 1684, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, in a Latin work concerning the dimensions of figures, printed in Edinburgh, and entitled, "*Exercitationes Geometricæ*." The same year in which this work was published, he was called to the mathematical chair in Edinburgh college, which he held with the greatest honour for seven years. Here he delivered some lectures on optics, which formed the substance of a work on that science, of acknowledged excellence. Here also Gregory had first been convinced of the infinite superiority of Newton's philosophy, and was the first who dared openly to teach the doctrines of the *Principia*, in a public seminary. This circumstance will ever attach honour to the name of Gregory; for let it be remembered, that in those days this was a daring innovation; and Cambridge university, in which Newton had been educated, was the very last in the kingdom to admit the truth of what is now regarded by all as the true system of the world. Whiston, in his *Memoirs of his Own Time*, bewails this in "the very anguish of his heart," calling those at Oxford and Cambridge poor wretches, when compared with those at the Scottish universities. In the year 1691 Gregory went to London, as there had been circulated a report that Dr Edmond Bernard, Savilian professor at Oxford, was about to resign, which formed a very desirable opening for the young mathematician. On his arrival in London he was kindly received by Newton, who had formed a very high opinion of him, as we learn from a letter written by Sir Isaac to Mr Flamsteed, the astronomer royal. Newton had intended to make Flamsteed a visit at Greenwich observatory, with a view to introduce Gregory, but was prevented by indisposition, and sent a letter with Gregory by way of introduction. "The bearer hereof is Mr Gregory, mathematical professor at Edinburgh college, Scotland. I intended to have given you a visit along with him, but cannot; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician, worthy of your acquaintance." Gregory could not fail to be highly gratified by the friendship of two of the greatest men of the age, and most particularly eminent in that department of science, which he cultivated with so much zeal and success. Such a mind as Newton's was not likely to form an opinion of any individual, on a vague conjecture of their ability, and the opinion once established would not be liable to change; accordingly we find that his attachment to the interests of the young mathematician, were only terminated by death. In a letter addressed a considerable time afterwards to the same amiable individual, he writes thus, "But I had rather have them (talking of Flamsteed's observations upon Saturn, for five years, which Newton wished from him) for the next twelve or fifteen years—if you and I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley are young men."

Gregory's visit to London was important to his future fame as a mathematician. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and afterwards contributed many valuable papers to their transactions. At the head of these must be mentioned that which he delivered on his first introduction to their meetings, a solution of the famous Florentine problem, which had been sent as a challenge to the British mathematicians. Gregory's solution, which is extremely beautiful, will be found in the number of the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1694. On the 8th of February, 1692, David Gregory was made master of arts, of Balliol college, Oxford; and on the eighteenth of the same month he received the degree of doctor of physic. At this time he stood candidate with Dr Halley for the

Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. Gregory had a formidable rival to contend with, as great interest was used for Halley at court, and he had besides rendered himself eminent by his numerous and important discoveries. Gregory in all likelihood would not have obtained this situation, notwithstanding the zealous intercession of Newton and Flamsteed, had it not been for a circumstance which is stated by Whiston in his *Memoirs of his Own Time*, as follows: "Halley being thought of as successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, bishop Stillingfleet was desired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a contemner of religion, the bishop scrupled to be concerned till his chaplain Mr Bentley should tally with him about it; which he did, but Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he was likely to lose a professorship by it—which he did, and it was given to Dr Gregory." To the honour of science let it be mentioned, that this circumstance, which opposed the interest of these two mathematicians so directly to each other, instead of becoming the cause of those petty jealousies or animosities, which in such cases, so commonly occur, was in the present instance the foundation on which was raised a firm and lasting friendship. Nor is it perhaps too bold to suspect, that the liberality displayed in this instance by these two eminent men, proceeded not so much from themselves as from the science which they cultivated in common. The scruples of Stillingfleet in time lost their efficacy, and Gregory had soon after the pleasure of having Dr Halley as his colleague, he having succeeded Dr Wallis in the Savilian chair of Geometry.

In 1695, he published at Oxford a very valuable work on the reflection and refraction of spherical surfaces. This work is valuable as it contains the first hint for a practical method of improving the refracting telescope and destroying the chromatic defect of these instruments. The difficulty to be avoided in those telescopes which operate by glasses instead of mirrors, lies in procuring a large field of view, and at the same time retaining distinctness of vision. Gregory drew an analogy from the construction of the eye, and by referring to the method by which this was effected in nature, gave the hint that the same principle might be applied in practice. This, perhaps, paved the way for the achromatic glasses, one of the finest triumphs of modern science. A simplicity pervades the whole work truly characteristic of the author's mind. But the work on which the fame of David Gregory must ultimately depend, was published in 1702, entitled "*Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy*." This work was a sort of digest of Newton's *Principia*. Great originality was shown in the illustrations, and the arrangement was so adapted as to show the progress the science had made in its various gradations towards perfection; and it was allowed by Newton himself that Gregory's work was an excellent view of his system.

Sir Henry Savile had projected a design of printing a uniform series of the ancient mathematicians; in pursuance of which Gregory published an edition of Euclid, and in conjunction with Dr Halley, he commenced the *Conics of Apollonius*; but scarcely had he entered upon this interesting undertaking, when death put a period to his existence. He departed this life in 1701, at Maidenhead in Berkshire, where it is believed his body is interred. His wife erected a monument at Oxford to his memory, with a very simple and elegant inscription. Of the talents of Dr Gregory ample testimony is borne by the works which he bequeathed to posterity, and of his worth as a private individual by the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries, Flamsteed, Keil, Halley, and above all, Sir Isaac Newton, who held him in the highest estimation. Of Newton's respect for him we shall add one other instance: Sir Isaac had in-



trusted Gregory with a copy of his *Principia* in manuscript, on which Gregory wrote a commentary; of the benefit of which the great author availed himself in the second edition. Dr John Gregory presented a manuscript copy of this to the university of Edinburgh, in the library of which it is carefully preserved. Of his posthumous works, two deserve particularly to be noticed; one on practical geometry, published by Mr Colin Maclaurin, and a small treatise on the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms, subjoined to Keil's Euclid, which contains a simple and comprehensive view of the subject.

An anecdote is told of David Gregory of Kinnairdie, Dr Gregory's father, which it would not perhaps, be altogether proper to omit. He had, as was remarked at the beginning, a turn for mathematical and mechanical subjects, and during queen Anne's wars had contrived a method to increase the effect of field ordnance. He sent it to the Savilian professor, his son, wishing his opinion, together with Sir I. Newton's. Gregory showed it to Newton, who advised him earnestly to destroy it, as said Newton, "Any invention of that kind, if it even were effectual, would soon become known to the enemy, so that it would only increase the horrors of war." There is every reason to think that the professor followed Newton's advice, as the machine was never afterwards to be found.

It is a more singular circumstance, and indeed without parallel in the scientific history of Scotland, that this old gentleman lived to see three of his sons professors at the same time, *viz.* David, the subject of the preceding sketch; James, who succeeded his brother in the chair of mathematics at Edinburgh; and Charles, professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews.

GREGORY, JAMES, whose valuable discoveries served so much to accelerate the progress of the mathematical and physical sciences in the seventeenth century, was born in 1638, at Drumoak in Aberdeenshire, where his father, the reverend John Gregory, was minister. Little is known of James Gregory's father, but from some slight notice of him in the Minutes of the General Assembly; and whatever part of the genius of the subject of this memoir was possessed by inheritance seems to have descended from the mother. It is an observation of a distinguished philosopher of the present day, Dr Thomson, that, "he never knew a man of talent whose mother was not a superior woman;" and a more happy instance of the truth of this remark could not be found than that of James Gregory. Mrs Gregory seems to have descended from a family of mathematicians. Her father was Mr David Anderson of Finghaugh, whose brother, Alexander Anderson, was professor of mathematics, (about the beginning of the seventeenth century,) in the university of Paris, and he himself was long noted for his application to mathematical and mechanical subjects. The reverend John Gregory died when the subject of this article was yet in his boyhood, and left the care of the education of James to David, an elder brother, and the surviving parent. The mother having observed the expanding powers of his mind, and their tendency to mathematical reasoning, gave these early indications of his genius all possible encouragement, by instructing him herself in the elements of geometry. Having received the rudiments of his classical education at the grammar school of Aberdeen, he completed the usual course or studies at Marischal college. For a considerable time after leaving the university, James Gregory devoted his attention to the science of optics. The celebrated French philosopher Descartes had published his work on Dioptrics the year before Gregory was born, nor had any advances been made in that science until James Gregory published the result of his labours in a work printed at London in 1663, entitled, "Optics Promoted, or the mysteries of reflected and refracted rays demonstrated by the elements of geometry; to which is added, an appendix, exhibiting a solution of some of the most diffi-

cult problems in astronomy." In this work, which forms an era in the history of the science of that century which its author so eminently adorned, and which was published when he was only twenty-four, there was first given to the world a description of the reflecting telescope, of which Gregory is the indisputable inventor. He proposed to himself no other advantage from using mirrors instead of glasses in the construction of telescopes, than to correct the error arising from the spherical figure of the lenses, and by forming the reflectors of a parabolic figure, to bring the rays of light into a perfect focus, being ignorant of the far greater error arising from the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, which it was reserved for Newton afterwards to discover. Gregory went to London a year after the publication of his work on optics, with a view to the construction of his telescope, and was introduced to Mr Rieves, an optical instrument maker, by Mr Collins, secretary to the Royal Society. Rieves could not finish the mirrors on the tool so as to preserve the figure, and so unsuccessful was the trial of the new telescope that the inventor was deterred from making any farther attempts towards its improvement, nor were these reflectors ever mounted in a tube. Sir I. Newton objected to this telescope, that the hole in the centre of the large speculum would be the cause of the loss of so much light, and invented one in which this defect was remedied. The Gregorian form is universally preferred to the Newtonian, when the instrument is of moderate size, the former possessing some material advantages; yet the latter was always employed by Dr Herschel, in those large instruments, by which the field of discovery has, of late, been so much extended. Although the inventor of the reflecting telescope has received all the honour which posterity can bestow, yet it is lamentable to think that he never had the satisfaction of seeing an instrument completed in his own lifetime. It is only necessary to remark farther, on this subject, that some papers of great interest passed between Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the reflecting telescope, which may be consulted with advantage by those who would wish to investigate the subject. His work on optics contains, besides the discovery of the reflecting telescope, that of the law of refraction. Descartes had made a similar discovery long ere this, but Gregory had not heard of it till his own work was ready for publication—to which circumstance he alludes in his preface. Playfair, in considering this subject, very justly remarks, that "though the optics of Descartes had been published twenty-five years, Gregory had not heard of the discovery of the law of refraction, and had found it out only by his own efforts;—happy in being able, by the fertility of his genius, to supply the defects of an insulated and remote situation."<sup>1</sup> The method in which Gregory investigated the law of refraction is truly remarkable, not only for its singular elegance, but originality, and the series of experiments which he instituted for the purpose of demonstration, affords an indelible proof of the accuracy of his observations. It is truly remarkable, that the calculations by this law differ so little from those obtained by the most accurate experiments. There is yet another discovery of the very highest importance to the science of astronomy, which is falsely and, we would hope, unknowingly attributed to another philosopher, whose manifold brilliant discoveries throw an additional lustre over the country which gave him birth. We allude to the employment of the transits of Mercury and Venus, in the determination of the sun's parallax, the merit of which is always ascribed to Dr Halley, even by that eminent astronomer Laplace. But it is plainly pointed out in the scholium to the 28th proposition of Gregory's work, published many years prior to Halley's supposed discovery. The university of Padua was at

<sup>1</sup> Playfair's Dissertation, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, part 1st, page 23, 6th edition.

this time in high repute for mathematical learning, and Gregory repaired thither from London, about the end of 1667, for the purpose of prosecuting his favourite study. Here he published a Latin work on the areas of the circle and hyperbola, determined by an infinitely converging series; a second edition of which he afterwards published at Venice, with an appendix on the transmutation of curves. Mr Collins, who always showed himself zealous in Gregory's favour, introduced this work to the notice of the Royal Society of London, of which he was secretary. This work received the commendation of that distinguished nobleman lord Brouncker, and Dr Wallis, the celebrated inventor of the arithmetic of infinites. Gregory's attention was once more drawn to the squaring of curves, by the method of converging series, on account of receiving an instance of the case of the circle in a letter from his friend Collins, who informed him that Newton had discovered a general method for all curves, mechanical and geometrical. Gregory speedily returned to Collins a method for the same purpose, which he was advised by his brother David to publish. Gregory refused to do this, and that from the most honourable motive: as Newton was the original inventor, he deemed it unfair to publish it, until Sir Isaac should give his method to the public. Soon after, he returned to London, and from his celebrity as a mathematician, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. He read before the society, the account of a dispute in Italy concerning the motion of the earth, which Riccioli and his followers had denied, besides many other valuable communications. Huygens had attacked Gregory's method of quadrature in a journal of that period, to which he replied in the Philosophical Transactions. The dispute was carried on with great warmth by both, and from Gregory's defence it would appear he was a man of warm temperament, but acute and penetrating genius. Of the merits of either, in this dispute, it would be out of place here to enter into detail. Leibnitz, who considered the subject with attention, and whose capacity of discernment in such matters cannot be questioned, is of opinion, that although Huygens did not point out errors in the work of Gregory, yet he obtained some of the results by a much simpler method.

The small work "*Exercitationes Geometricæ*," published by Gregory at London in 1668, consisted of twenty-six pages, containing however a good deal of important matter. No where do we learn more of the real private character of Gregory than in the preface and appendix to this little work. He speaks in explicit terms of his dispute with Huygens, complains of the injustice done him by that philosopher and some others of his contemporaries; and we are led to conclude from them, that he was a man who, from a consciousness of his own powers, was jealous of either a rival or improver of any invention or discovery with which he was connected. The same year in which he published this last work, he was chosen professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews. The year following he married Miss Mary Jamieson, daughter of Mr George Jamieson, the painter whom Walpole has designated the Vandyke of Scotland. By his wife he had a son and two daughters. The son, James, was grandfather of Dr Gregory, author of the "*Theoreticæ Medicinæ*," and professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. James Gregory remained at St Andrews for six years, when he was called to fill the mathematical chair in the university of Edinburgh. During his residence at St Andrews, he wrote a satire on a work of Mr George Sinclair's, formerly professor of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but who had been dismissed on account of some political heresies. Dr Gregory did not live to enjoy the chair in Edinburgh more than one year; for returning home late one evening in October, 1675, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and three days afterwards expired. Thus, at the early age of thirty-seven, in the vigour

of manhood, was put a melancholy termination to the life of James Gregory. Of the character of this great man little can be said. His knowledge of mathematical and physical science was very extensive; acuteness of discrimination and originality of thought are conspicuous in all his works; and he seems to have possessed a considerable degree of independence and warmth of temper.

GREGORY, JAMES, M.D., an eminent modern medical teacher, was the eldest son of Dr John Gregory, equally celebrated as a medical teacher, by the honourable Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of William, thirteenth lord Forbes. He was born in 1753, at Aberdeen, where his father then practised as a physician. Being removed in boyhood to Edinburgh, where his father succeeded Dr Rutherford as professor of the practice of physic, he received his academical and professional education in that city, and in 1774, took his degree as doctor of medicine, his thesis being "*De Morbis Cœli Mutatione Medendis*." An education conducted under the most favourable circumstances had improved, in the utmost possible degree, the excellent natural talents of Dr Gregory, though he had the misfortune to lose his father before its conclusion. Notwithstanding the latter event, he was appointed, in 1776, when only twenty-three years of age, to the chair of the theory of physic in the Edinburgh university. As a text book for his lectures, he published in 1780-2, his "*Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*," which soon became a work of standard reputation over all Europe, not only in consequence of its scientific merits, but the singular felicity of the classical language with which it was written.

In consequence of the death of Dr Cullen, the subject of this memoir was appointed, in 1790, to the most important medical professorship in the university, that of the practice of physic; an office upon which unprecedented lustre had been conferred by his predecessor; but which for thirty-one years he sustained with even superior splendour. During this long period, the fame which his talents had acquired, attracted students to Edinburgh from all parts of the world, all of whom returned to their homes with a feeling of reverence for his character, more nearly resembling that which the disciples of antiquity felt for their instructors, than anything which is generally experienced in the present situation of society. Descended by the father's side from a long and memorable line of ancestors, among whom the friend and contemporary of Newton is numbered, and by the mother's from one of the oldest baronial families in the country, the character of Dr Gregory was early formed upon an elevated model, and throughout his whole life he combined, in a degree seldom equalled, the studies and acquirements of a man of science, with the tastes and honourable feelings of a high-born gentleman. By these peculiarities, joined to the point and brilliancy of his conversation, and his almost romantic generosity of nature, he made the most favourable impression upon all who came in contact with him.

Dr Gregory had early bent his acute and discriminating mind to the study of metaphysics, and in 1792, he published a volume, entitled "*Philosophical and Literary Essays*," in which is to be found one of the most original and forcible refutations of the doctrine of Necessity, which has ever appeared. His reputation as a Latinist was unrivalled in Scotland in his own day; and the numerous inscriptions which he was consequently requested to write in this tongue were characterized by extraordinary beauty of expression and arrangement. His only philological publication, however, is a "*Dissertation on the Theory of the Moods of Verbs*," which appears in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1790. Dr Gregory's eminence as a man of science, and his fame throughout Europe, were testified by his being one of the few British honoured with a seat in the Institute of France.

While officiating for nearly fifty years as a medical teacher, Dr Gregory carried on an extensive and lucrative practice in Edinburgh. As a physician, he enjoyed the highest reputation, notwithstanding a certain severe sincerity, and occasional *brusquerie* of manner, which characterized him in this capacity. It is probable that, but for the pressure of his professional engagements, he might have oftener employed his pen, both in the improvement of medical knowledge, and in general literature. His only medical publication, besides his matchless "Conspicua," was an edition of Cullen's "First Lines of the Practice of Physic," 2 vols. 8vo. It is with reluctance we advert to a series of publications of a different kind, which Dr Gregory allowed himself to issue, and which it must be the wish of every generous mind to forget as soon as possible. They consisted of a variety of pamphlets, in which he gave vent to feelings that could not fail to excite the indignation of various members of his own profession; the most remarkable being a memorial addressed, in 1800, to the managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, complaining of the younger members of the college of surgeons being there allowed to perform operations. A list of these productions is given in the preface to Mr John Bell's Letters on Professional Characters and Manners, 1810, and we shall not therefore allude further to the subject, than to say, that the language employed in several of them affords a most striking view of one of the paradoxes occasionally found in human character, the co-existence in the same bosom of sentiments of chivalrous honour and benevolence, with the most inveterate hostility towards individuals.

Dr Gregory died at his house in St Andrew's square, Edinburgh, April 2, 1821, leaving a large family, chiefly in adolescence.

GREGORY, (Dr) JOHN, a distinguished physician of the eighteenth century, was descended from a family of illustrious men, whose names and discoveries will ever form a brilliant page in the history of the literature of Scotland. Many of the members of this family held professorships in the most distinguished universities, both in this and the southern kingdom; and we may turn to the name of Gregory for those who raised Scotland to an equal rank with any other nation in the scientific world. John Gregory was born at Aberdeen, on the 3rd of June, 1724, being the youngest of the three children of James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college there. This professor of medicine was a son of James Gregory, the celebrated inventor of the reflecting telescope.

When John Gregory was seven years of age, he lost his father, wherefore the charge of his education devolved upon his elder brother, James, who succeeded his father in the professorship. He acquired his knowledge of classical literature at the grammar school of Aberdeen, where he applied himself with much success to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He completed a course of languages and philosophy, at King's college, Aberdeen, under the immediate care of principal Chalmers, his grandfather by the mother's side. He studied with great success under Mr Thomas Gordon, the professor of philosophy in that college; and, to the honour of both, a friendly correspondence was then commenced, which was maintained till the end of Gregory's life. In noticing those to whom Gregory was indebted for his early education, it would be unpardonable to pass over the name of Dr Reid, his cousin-german; the same whose "Inquiry into the Human Mind" forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of the intellectual philosophy of the eighteenth century;—and here we may remark the existence of that family spirit for mathematical reasoning, which has so long been entailed on the name of Gregory. The essay on quantity, and the chapter on the geometry of visibles, prove this eminently in Dr Reid; and

the success with which Gregory studied under Mr Gordon, can leave no doubt of its existence in him. In 1741, Gregory lost his elder brother George, a young man concerning whom there was entertained the highest expectation; and the year following, John and his mother removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. He studied three years at Edinburgh, under Monro, Sinclair, and Rutherford; and on his first coming to Edinburgh, he became a member of the medical society there, which was the cause of an intimacy between him and Mark Akenside, author of "The Pleasures of Imagination."

The university of Leyden was at this time in very high reputation, and Gregory repaired thither, after having studied at Edinburgh for three years. Here he had as his preceptors, three of the most eminent men of the age—Goubius, Royen, and Albinus; he also cultivated the acquaintance of some fellow students who afterwards became eminent in the literary and political world; amongst whom the most eminent were John Wilkes, esq., and the honourable Charles Townshend. While prosecuting his studies at Leyden, John Gregory was honoured with an unsolicited degree of doctor of medicine, from King's college, Aberdeen; and after two years' residence on the continent, he returned to his native country, and was immediately called to fill the chair of philosophy in that seminary where he had first been nurtured, and which, lately, had conferred on him so great a mark of her regard. He lectured for three years at Aberdeen on the mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; when, in 1749, from a desire to devote himself to the practice of medicine, he resigned, and took a few weeks' tour on the continent, of which the chief object seems to have been amusement. Three years after the resignation of his professorship, Dr Gregory married Miss Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of lord Forbes, a lady of extraordinary wit, beauty, and intellectual endowment.

The field of medical practice in Aberdeen was already almost entirely preoccupied by men of the first eminence in their profession, and the share which fell to Dr Gregory was not sufficient to occupy his active mind. He went to London in 1754, and his fame as a physician and as a literary man being already far extended, he had no difficulty in being introduced to the first society. Here it was that the foundation was first laid of that friendship which existed between him and lord Lyttleton. It was at this period, also, that he became acquainted with lady Wortley Montague and her husband. This lady kept assemblies, or conversaziones, where the first characters of the kingdom resorted. By this lady he was introduced to all the most eminent men in the kingdom for taste or genius; yet he is indebted to her for a favour of a far higher order—the continuance of that friendship she had ever shown towards him, to his posterity. About this period Dr Gregory was chosen fellow of the Royal Society of London, and his practice was daily increasing. Dr James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college, Aberdeen, to whose care Gregory owed so much, died in 1755, which created a vacancy in that chair. Dr John Gregory was elected in his own absence, and being a situation which suited his inclination he accepted it. There were many circumstances which would render a return to his native country agreeable. He was to be restored to the bosom of the friends of his infancy, he was to be engaged in the duties of a profession in which he felt the highest interest, and to the enjoyment of the society of Reid, Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard. He entered on the duties of his new office in the beginning of 1756.

A literary club met weekly in a tavern in Aberdeen, which was originally projected by Drs Reid and Gregory. It was called the Wise Club, and its members consisted of the professors of both Marischal and King's college, besides the literary and scientific gentlemen about Aberdeen. An essay was read each

night by one of the members, in rotation. Most of the distinguishing features of the philosophical systems of Gregory and his colleagues, who have been already mentioned, were first delivered in this society. Gregory's work on the faculties of man and other animals, was first composed as essays for the Wise Club, but afterwards arranged and published under the patronage of his friend lord Lyttleton—the first instance in which Gregory appeared to the world as an author. This work, which was published in London, 1764, was entitled, "A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the animal world."

Dr Gregory remained in the chair of medicine in Aberdeen for eight years, when, with a view to the increase of his practice, he removed to Edinburgh, and two years afterwards was appointed successor to Dr Rutherford in the university there, as professor of the practice of physic, and in the same year, 1766, he succeeded Dr Whyt as first physician to his majesty in Scotland. Dr Gregory lectured for three years solely on the practice of physic; but at that time an agreement was entered into by his honoured colleague Dr Cullen—the celebrated author of the system of Nosology which goes by his name—that they should lecture in turn on the theory and practice of medicine, which was continued for many years. None of Dr Gregory's lectures were ever written, except a few introductory ones on the duties and qualifications of a physician; which probably would not have made their appearance, had it not been the circumstance of one of his students offering a written copy, taken from notes, to a bookseller for sale, which induced Gregory to publish the work, the profits of which he gave to a poor and deserving student. This will always be a standard work among medical men, and will ever remain a lasting monument of the author's profound research, energy of mind, and liberality of opinion. Nothing could so effectually convince us, as the perusal of this work, of the truth of one of his observations—"that the profession of medicine requires a more comprehensive mind than any other." This work was published in 1770, and the same year he published his *Elements of the Practice of Physic*, a work which was intended as a text book for his pupils, and was excellent as far as it went, but never was completed.

The amiable and accomplished wife of Dr Gregory lived only with him nine years, during which period he enjoyed all the pleasure which domestic happiness could afford. He regretted her death exceedingly; and, as he says himself, he, for the amusement of his solitary hours, wrote that inimitable little work—"A Father's Legacy to his Daughters." In this work he feelingly states, that while he endeavours to point out to them what they should be, he draws but a very faint and imperfect picture of what their mother was.

Gregory inherited from his mother a disease, with which he had from the age of eighteen been frequently attacked. This was the gout, of which his mother died suddenly while sitting at table. The doctor often spoke of this to his friends, and one day when talking with Dr James Gregory, his son (author of the *Conspectus Theoreticus Medicinæ*), it was observed by the latter, that as he had not had an attack these three years past, it was likely the next would be pretty severe. Dr Gregory was not pleased with this remark of his son, but unfortunately the prediction was true. Dr Gregory had gone to bed in his usual health on the 9th of February, 1778, and seems to have died in his sleep, as he was found in the morning without the slightest appearance of discomposure of feature or limb. Dr Beattie laments him pathetically in the concluding stanzas of the *Minstrel*:—

Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled,  
And am I left to unavailing woe;

When fortune's storms assail this weary head  
 Where cares long since have shed untimely snow!  
 Ah! now for ever whither shall I go?  
 No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers,  
 Thy placid eyes with smile no longer glow,  
 My hopes to cherish and allay my fears.  
 'Tis meet that I should mourn—flow forth afresh, my tears.

Dr Gregory was considerably above the middle size, and although he could not be called handsome, yet he was formed in good proportion. He was slow in his motion, and had a stoop forward. His eye and countenance had a rather dull appearance until they were lighted up by conversation. His conversation was lively and always interesting; and although he had seen much of the world, he was never given to that miserable refuge of weak minds—story-telling. In his lecturing he struck the golden mean between formal delivery and the ease of conversation. He left two sons and two daughters: Dr James Gregory, who was the able successor of his father in the university of Edinburgh; William Gregory, rector of St. Mary's, Bentham; Dorothea, the wife of the Rev. A. Allison, of Balliol college; and Margaret, wife of J. Forbes, Esq. of Blackford.

GREY, ALEXANDER, a surgeon in the service of the honourable East India Company, and founder of an hospital for the sick poor of the town and county of Elgin, was the son of deacon Alexander Grey, a respectable and ingenious tradesman of Elgin, who exercised the united crafts of a wheel-wright and watchmaker, and of Janet Sutherland, of whose brother, Dr Sutherland, the following anecdote is related by some of the oldest inhabitants of Elgin. It is said that the king of Prussia, Frederick William I. being desirous to have his family inoculated with small pox, applied in England for a surgeon to repair to Berlin for that purpose. Though this was an honourable, and probably lucrative mission, yet from the severe and arbitrary character of the king, it was regarded by many as a perilous undertaking to the individual, as it was not impossible that he might lose some of his patients. Sutherland, at all hazards, offered his services, was successful in the treatment of his royal patients, and was handsomely rewarded. On his return to England, his expedition probably brought him more into public notice, for we afterwards find him an M.D. residing and practising as a physician at Bath, until he lost his sight, when he came to Elgin, and lived with the Greys for some years previous to 1775, when he died.

Deacon Grey had a family of three sons and two daughters, and by his own industry and some pecuniary assistance from Dr Sutherland, he was enabled to give them a better education than most others in their station. Alexander, the subject of this memoir, born in 1751, was the youngest of the family. Induced by the advice or success of his uncle, he made choice of the medical profession, and was apprenticed for the usual term of three years to Dr Thomas Stephen, a physician of great respectability in Elgin. He afterwards attended the medical classes in the college of Edinburgh, and having completed his education he obtained the appointment of an assistant surgeon on the Bengal establishment. It does not appear that he was distinguished either by his professional skill or literary acquirements, from the greater proportion of his professional brethren in the east. When advanced in life, he married a lady much younger than himself, and this ill-assorted match caused him much vexation, and embittered his few remaining years. They had no children, and as there was no congeniality in their dispositions nor agreement in their habits, they separated some time before Dr Grey's death, which happened in 1808. By economical



habits he amassed a considerable fortune, and it is the manner in which he disposed of it that gives him a claim to be ranked among distinguished Scotsmen.

It is no improbable supposition that, in visiting the indigent patients of the humane physician under whom he commenced his professional studies, his youthful mind was impressed with the neglected and uncomfortable condition of the sick poor of his native town, and that when he found himself a man of wealth without family, the recollection of their situation recurred, and he formed the benevolent resolution of devoting the bulk of his fortune to the endowment of an hospital for their relief. He bequeathed for this purpose, in the first instance, twenty thousand pounds, besides about seven thousand available at the deaths of certain annuitants, and four thousand pounds more, liable to another contingency. From various causes, over which the trustees appointed by the deed of settlement had no control, considerable delay was occasioned in realizing the funds, and the hospital was not opened for the reception of patients until the beginning of 1819. It is an elegant building of two stories, in the Grecian style, after a design by James Gillespie, Esq. architect, and is erected on a rising ground to the west of Elgin. The funds are under the management of the member of parliament for the county, the sheriff depute, and the two clergymen of the established church, *ex officio*, with three life directors named by the founder in the deed of settlement. A physician and surgeon appointed by the trustees at fixed salaries, attend daily in the hospital. For several years there was a prejudice against the institution among the class for whom it was founded, but this gradually wore off, and the public are now fully alive to, and freely avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

Mr Grey did not limit his beneficence to the founding and endowing of the hospital which will transmit his name to future generations; he bequeathed the annual interest of two thousand pounds to "the reputed old maids in the town of Elgin, daughters of respectable but decayed families." This charity is placed under the management of the two clergymen and the physicians of the town of Elgin, and it is suggested that, to be useful, it ought not to extend beyond eight or ten individuals. At the death of Mrs Grey, a farther sum of one thousand pounds was to fall into this fund. The annual interest of seven thousand pounds was settled on the widow during her life, and it was directed that at her death four thousand pounds of the principal should be appropriated to the building of a new church in the town of Elgin, under the inspection of the two clergymen of the town, and that the interest of this sum should be applied to the use of the hospital until a church should be required. This is the contingency already referred to; and as a durable and handsome new church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the population of the town and parish, was erected by the heritors, at an expense exceeding eight thousand pounds, not many years ago, the funds of the hospital, in all probability, will for a long time have the advantage of the interest of this bequest. Grey was kind, and even liberal to his relatives during his life, and to his sister, the only member of his family who survived him, he left a handsome annuity, with legacies to all her family unprovided for at her death. On the whole he seems to have been a warm-hearted and benevolent man; but being disappointed in the happiness which he expected from his matrimonial connexion, his temper was soured, and a considerable degree of peevishness and distrust is evident throughout the whole of his deed of settlement. Whatever were his failings, his memory will be cherished by the thousands of poor for whom he has provided medical succour in the hour of distress; while the public at large cannot fail to remember with respect, a man who displayed so much benevolence and judgment in the disposal of the gifts of fortune.

GUILD, WILLIAM, an eminent divine, was the son of a wealthy tradesman in Aberdeen, where he was born in the year 1586. He received his education at Marischal college, then recently founded; and, while still very young, and before taking orders, published at London a work entitled "The New Sacrifice of Christian Incense," and another soon after, called "The Only Way to Salvation." His first pastoral charge was over the parish of King Edward, in the presbytery of Turesf and synod of Aberdeen. He here acquired both the affections of his flock, and an extended reputation as a man of learning and address, so that, when king James visited Scotland in 1617, bishop Andrews, who accompanied his majesty as an assistant in his schemes for the establishment or episcopacy, paid great attention to this retired northern clergyman, and took much of his advice regarding the proper method of accomplishing the object in view. Mr Guild acknowledged his sense of the bishop's condescension, by dedicating to him in the following year his excellent work entitled "Moses Unveiled," which points out the figures in the Old Testament allusive to the Messiah. This was a branch of theological literature which Mr Guild had made peculiarly his own province, as he evinced further in the course of a few years, by his work entitled "The Harmony of the Prophets."

In 1610, Mr Guild was married to Catharine Rolland, daughter of Rolland of Disblair, by whom he had no issue. Not long after the royal visit above alluded to, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. The degree of doctor of divinity was also conferred upon him. From his retirement at King Edward, he sent out various theological works of popular utility, and at the same time solid learning and merit. Of these his "Ignis Fatuus," against the doctrine of Purgatory, "Popish glorying in antiquity turned to their shame," and his "Compend of the Controversies of Religion," are particularly noticed by his biographers. In the mean time he displayed many marks of attachment to his native city, particularly by endowing an hospital for the incorporated trades, which is described by Mr Kennedy, the historian of Aberdeen, as now enjoying a revenue of about £1000, and affording relief to upwards of a hundred individuals annually. In 1631, he was preferred to one of the pulpits of that city, and took his place amongst as learned and able a body of local clergy as could be shown at that time in any part of either South or North Britain. His distinction among the Aberdeen Doctors, as they were called, in the controversy which they maintained against the covenanters, was testified by his being their representative at the general assembly of 1638, when the system of church government to which he and his brethren were attached, was abolished. The views and practice of Dr Guild in this trying crisis, seem to have been alike moderate; and he accordingly appears to have escaped much of that persecution which befell his brethren. He endeavoured to heal the animosities of the two parties, or rather to moderate the ardour of the covenanters, to whom he was conscientiously opposed, by publishing "A Friendly and Faithful Advice to the Nobility, Gentry, and others;" but this, it is to be feared, had little effect. In 1640, notwithstanding his position in regard to the popular cause, he was chosen principal of King's college, and in June, 1641, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the city. The king, about this time signified his appreciation of Dr Guild's services, by bestowing upon him "a free gift of his house and garden, which had formerly been the residence of the bishop." The reverend principal, in his turn, distributed the whole proceeds of the gift in charity.

Dr Guild continued to act as principal of King's college till he was deposed by Monk in 1651, after which he resided in Aberdeen as a private individual. In his retirement he appears to have written several works—"the Sealed Book Opened," or an explanation of the Apocalypse, and "the Novelty of Popery

Discovered," which was published at Aberdeen in 1656, and "an Explication of the Song of Solomon," which appeared two years after in London. He also exerted himself during this interval in improving the Trades' Hospital, and in other charitable pursuits. Upon these incorporations he bestowed a house on the south side of Castle Street (in Aberdeen,) the yearly rents of which he directed to be applied as bursaries, to such of the sons of members as might be inclined to prosecute an academical course of education in the Marischal college; and of this fund, we are informed by Mr Kennedy, six or eight young men generally participate every year. As an appropriate conclusion to a life so remarkably distinguished by acts of beneficence, Dr Guild, in his will dated 1657, bequeathed seven thousand marks, to be secured on land, and the yearly profit to be applied to the maintenance of poor orphans. By the same document, he destined his library to the university of St Andrews, excepting one manuscript, supposed to be the original of the memorable letter from the states of Bohemia and Moravia, to the council of Constance in 1415, relative to John Huss and Jerome of Prague: this curious paper he bequeathed to the university of Edinburgh, where it is still faithfully preserved. Dr Guild died in August, 1657, aged about 71 years. A manuscript work which he left was transmitted by his widow to Dr John Owen, to whom it was designed to have been dedicated, and who published it at Oxford in 1659, under the title of "The Throne of David; or an Exposition of Second [Book of] Samuel." Mrs Guild, having no children upon whom to bestow her wealth, dedicated it to the education of young men and other benevolent purposes; and it appears that her foundations lately maintained six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity, six poor widows, and six poor men's children.

GUTHRIE, HENRY, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was born at the manse of Coupar-Augus, of which his father, Mr John Guthrie, a cadet of the family of Guthrie of that ilk, was minister. At an early age he made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages, and was soon afterwards transferred to the university of St Andrews, where he continued to study with the same success, and took his degrees in arts. After finishing the philosophical part of his education, he became a student of divinity in the New College at the same place.

The qualifications of Mr Guthrie, added to the great respectability of his family, easily procured for him the appointment of a chaplain, which was then considered as a sure step to promotion in the church. The family of the earl of Marr, with whom he remained in that capacity for several years, treated him with much respect; and on leaving them, he obtained through the earl's recommendation, a presentation to the church of Stirling, to which he was episcopally ordained.<sup>1</sup>

"Being now a minister in the church," says his biographer, Mr Crawford, "he was diligent in the pastoral care in all the parts of his function, and was well affected to the government in church and state." Unfortunately for Mr Guthrie, however, the minds of the Scottish people had become impatient under the innovations begun by king James, and obtruded upon them with less caution by his son. But in justice to the moderate episcopalians, it must be mentioned, that they disapproved of the introduction of a liturgy by force.

At length the call for a General Assembly became so urgent, that its "induction" was consented to by the king, and it accordingly took place at Glasgow in 1638. Guthrie, with many of his colleagues, took the covenant required by it, but does not seem to have obtained much credit with his brethren in the ministry; nor was his conduct, viewed in the most favourable light, conciliating.

<sup>1</sup> Account of Guthrie by Crawford, preface to his *Memoirs*, edit. 1738, pp. 3-5.

Upon the establishment of Episcopacy in Ireland, some of the Scottish inhabitants had determined to emigrate to New England, where liberty of conscience was permitted, but were driven back by storm, and as conformity was rigidly insisted upon, many of them returned to Scotland, where they obtained a favourable reception. The "errors of Brownism," had, in the meantime, crept in among them, but their remarkable piety procured the good will of the people, till they reached our author's parish of Stirling. The laird of Leckie, a gentleman who is said to have suffered much at the hands of the bishops, was at this time much esteemed for his intelligence and seriousness, and many who could not conscientiously acquiesce in the services of the church, had been in the habit of assembling with him for the exercise of private worship. In these meetings, it had been alleged, but whether with truth we are not informed, that he had in prayer used some expressions prejudicial to Mr Guthrie. The holders of such meetings were therefore "delated" before the presbytery, and expelled their bounds, but Guthrie was not willing to dismiss them so easily—he left no means untried to injure their character, and the name of "sectarian" was at this time too powerful a weapon in the hands of a merciless enemy. In the assembly of 1639, he tried to obtain an act against private meetings; but some of the leading clergymen, fearing more injury to the cause of religion from his injudicious zeal than from the meetings he attempted to suppress, prevented the matter from being publicly brought before the assembly. He was still, however, determined to have some stronger weapon in his hand than that of argument—a weapon it need hardly be said the assembly allowed him,—and in order to prepare for a decisive conclusion at the next session, he roused the northern ministers, "putting them in great vehemency," to use Baillie's expression, "against all these things he complained of." Accordingly, in the assembly of 1640, after much debate, an act anent the ordering of family worship, was passed. By this act it was ordained, that not more than the members of one family should join in private devotion—that reading prayers is lawful where no one can express themselves extemporaneously—that no one should be permitted to expound the Scriptures but ministers or expectants approved of by the presbytery—and, lastly, that no innovation should be permitted without the express concurrence of the assembly. But this decision rather widened than appeased their differences, and the subject was again investigated in 1641, when an act against impiety and schism was drawn up by Mr Alexander Henderson.

For several years after this period, little is mentioned by our historians relative to Mr Guthrie. On Sunday the 3d of October, 1641, he had the honour of preaching before his majesty in the abbey church of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> but Sir James Balfour does not give us any outline of this sermon—a circumstance the more to be regretted as none of his theological works have come down to us. In his memoirs he mentions having addressed the assembly of 1643, when the English divines presented a letter from the Westminster Assembly, and the declaration of the English parliament, in which we are told they proposed "to extirpate episcopacy root and branch." It is remarkable that principal Baillie, the most minute of all our ecclesiastical historians of that period, and who has left behind him a journal of the proceedings of that very assembly, takes no notice of this speech; but it is evident from what he says elsewhere, that the presbyterians found it necessary to overawe Mr Guthrie. He had, in name of the presbytery of Stirling, written "a most bitter letter" to Mr Robert Douglas, "concerning the commissioners of the General Assembly's declaration against the cross petition;" and though it was afterwards recalled, it seems to have been used *in terrorem*, for, to quote the expressive words of Mr Baillie, "Mr Harry

<sup>1</sup> Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iii. p. 89.

Guthrie made no din" in that assembly. The last public appearance he made while minister of Stirling was in 1647, when the king was delivered by the Scots to the English parliament. He was among the number of those who exonerated themselves of any share or approval of that transaction; "and as for the body of the ministry throughout the kingdom," says he, "the far greater part disallowed it; howbeit, loathness to be deprived of their function and livelihood restrained them from giving a testimony."

It has been already stated, that the Scottish clergy do not appear to have placed much confidence in Mr Guthrie; and from his opposition to many of their favourite measures, this is little to be wondered at. In 1647, when the parliament declared for "the engagement," the ministers declaimed against it, as containing no provision for the support of their religion; but Guthrie and some others preached up the lawfulness of the design, and although no notice was taken of this at the time, no sooner was the Scottish army defeated, than they were considered proper subjects of discipline. "Upon November fourteenth, [1648], came to Stirling that commission which the General Assembly had appointed, to depose ministers in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dumblane, for their malignancy, who thrust out Mr Henry Guthrie and Mr John Allan, ministers of the town of Stirling," &c.<sup>1</sup>

From the period of his dismissal from his charge, till after the Restoration, Guthrie lived in retirement. He is mentioned by Lamont of Newton, as "minister of Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowrie;"<sup>2</sup> but the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling, in his edition of Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, merely says that he lived there. In 1661, when Mr James Guthrie was executed on account of his writings, Henry Guthrie became entitled by law, and was indeed invited by the town council, to resume his duties at Stirling, but he declined on account of bad health.<sup>3</sup> He was well known to the earl of Lauderdale, and was recommended by him to the diocese of Dumblane, then void by the death of bishop Halyburton. He had during his retirement devoted his attention to the study of church government, and had become convinced, "that a parity in the church could not possibly be maintained, so as to preserve unity and order among them, and that a superior authority must be brought in to settle them in unity and peace." With this conviction, and with a sufficient portion of good health for this appointment, he accepted the diocese, and remained in it till his death, which happened in 1676.

The only work which bishop Guthrie is known to have left behind him, is his "Memoirs, containing an Impartial Relation of the affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the year 1637 to the Death of King Charles I."—written, it is believed, at Kilspindie. The impartiality of his "Relation" is often questionable,—nor could we expect that it should be otherwise, at a period when both civil and ecclesiastical dissensions ran so high. In point of style it forms a striking contrast to most of the other histories of that time, which, however valuable otherwise, are often tedious and uninteresting.

GUTHRIE, JAMES, one of the most zealous of the protesters, as they were called, during the religious troubles of the 17th century, was the son of the laird of Guthrie, an ancient and highly respectable family. Guthrie was educated at St Andrews, where, having gone through the regular course of classical learning, he commenced teacher of philosophy, and was much esteemed, as well for the equanimity of his temper as for his erudition. His religious principles in the

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, edit. 1743, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Lamont's Diary, edit. 1830, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Stirling's Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 376, note.

earlier part of his life are said to have been highly prelatical, and, of course, opposite to those which he afterwards adopted, and for which, in the spirit of a martyr, he afterwards died. His conversion from the forms in which he was first bred, is attributed principally to the influence of Mr Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, himself a zealous and able defender of the Scottish church, with whom he had many opportunities of conversing.

In 1638 Mr Guthrie was appointed minister of Lauder, where he remained for several years, and where he had already become so celebrated as to be appointed one of the several ministers selected by the committee of estates, then sitting in Edinburgh, to wait upon the unfortunate Charles I. at Newcastle, when it was learned that the unhappy monarch had delivered himself up to the Scottish army encamped at Newark.

In 1649, Mr Guthrie was translated from Lauder to Stirling, where he remained until his death. While in this charge he continued to distinguish himself by the zeal and boldness with which he defended the covenant, and opposed the resolutions in favour of the king (Charles II.). He was now considered leader of the protesters, a party opposed to monarchy, and to certain indulgences proposed by the sovereign and sanctioned by the committee of estates, and who were thus contra-distinguished from the resolutioners, which comprehended the greater part of the more moderate of the clergy.

Mr Guthrie had, in the meantime, created himself a powerful enemy in the earl of Middleton, by proposing to the commission of the General Assembly to excommunicate him for his hostility to the church; the proposal was entertained, and Guthrie himself was employed to carry it into execution in a public manner in the church of Stirling. It is related by those who were certainly no friends to Guthrie, regarding this circumstance, that on the morning of the Sabbath on which the sentence of excommunication was to be carried into effect against Middleton, a messenger, a nobleman it is said, arrived at Mr Guthrie's house with a letter from the king, earnestly requesting him to delay the sentence for that Sabbath. The bearer, waiting until he had read the letter, demanded an answer. Guthrie is said to have replied, "you had better come to church and hear sermon, and after that you shall have your answer." The messenger complied; but what was his surprise, when he heard the sentence pronounced in the usual course of things, as if no negotiation regarding it had taken place. On the dismissal of the congregation, he is said to have taken horse and departed in the utmost indignation, and without seeking any further interview with Guthrie. It is certain that a letter was delivered to Guthrie, of the tenor and under the circumstances just mentioned, but it was not from the king, but, according to Wodrow, on the authority of his father who had every opportunity of knowing the fact, from a nobleman. Who this nobleman was, however, he does not state, nor does he take it upon him to say, even that it was written by the king's order, or that he was in any way privy to it. However this may be, it is stated further, on the authority just alluded to, that the letter in question was put into Mr Guthrie's hands in the hall of his own house, after he had got his gown on, and was about to proceed to church, the last bell having just ceased ringing; having little time to decide on the contents of the letter, he gave no positive answer to the messenger, nor came under any promise to postpone the sentence of excommunication: with this exception the circumstance took place as already related.

Soon after the Restoration, Mr Guthrie and some others of his brethren, who had assembled at Edinburgh, for the purpose of drawing up what they called a *supplication* to his majesty, and who had already rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the government, were apprehended and lodged in the castle

of Edinburgh; from thence Mr Guthrie was removed to Dundee, and afterwards back again to Edinburgh, where he was finally brought to trial for high treason, on the 20th of February, 1661; and, notwithstanding an able and ingenious defence, was condemned to death, a result in no small degree owing to the dislike which Middleton bore him for his officiousness in the matter of his ex-communication, and which that nobleman had not forgotten.

It is said that Guthrie had been long impressed with the belief that he should die by the hands of the executioner, and many singular circumstances which he himself noted from time to time, and pointed out to his friends, strengthened him in this melancholy belief. Amongst these it is related, that when he came to Edinburgh to sign the solemn league and covenant, the first person he met as he entered at the West Port was the public executioner. On this occasion, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and looking upon it as another intimation of the fate which awaited him, he openly expressed his conviction, that he would one day suffer for the things contained in that document which he had come to subscribe.

Whilst under sentence of death, Guthrie conducted himself with all the heroism of a martyr. Sincere and enthusiastic in the cause which he had espoused, he did not shrink from the last penalty to which his adherence to it could subject him, but, on the contrary, met it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. On the night before his execution he supped with some friends, and conducted himself throughout the repast as if he had been in his own house. He ate heartily, and after supper asked for cheese, a luxury which he had been long forbidden by his physicians; saying jocularly, that he need not now fear gravel, the complaint for which he had been restricted from it. Soon after supper he retired to bed, and slept soundly till four o'clock in the morning, when he raised himself up and prayed fervently. On the night before, he wrote some letters to his friends, and sealed them with his coat of arms, but while the wax was yet soft, he turned the seal round and round so as to mar the impression, and when asked why he did so, replied, that he had now nothing to do with these vanities. A little before coming out of the telbooth to proceed to execution, his wife embracing him said, "Naw, my heart," her usual way of addressing him, "your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you."—"Ay, you must," he answered, "for henceforth I know no man after the flesh." Before being brought out to suffer, a request was made to the authorities by his friends, to allow him to wear his hat on the way to the scaffold, and also that they would not pinion him until he reached the place of execution. Both requests were at first denied; the former absolutely, because, as was alleged, the marquis of Argyll, who had been executed a short while before, had worn his hat, in going to the scaffold, in a manner markedly indicative of defiance and contempt, and which had given much offence. To the latter request, that he might not be pinioned, they gave way so far, on a representation being made that he could not walk without his staff, on account of the rose being in one of his legs, as to allow him so much freedom in his arms as to enable him to make use of that support, but they would not altogether dispense with that fatal preparation. Having ascended the scaffold, he delivered with a calm and serene countenance an impressive address to those around him; justified all for which he was about to suffer, and recommended all who heard him to adhere firmly to the covenant. After hanging for some time, his head was struck off, and placed on the Netherbow Port, where it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was taken down and buried by a Mr Alexander Hamilton at the hazard of his own life. The body, after being beheaded, was carried to the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by a number of ladies who waited its arrival for that purpose; many of whom, be-

sides, dipped their napkins in his blood, that they might preserve them as memorials of so admired a martyr. While these gentlewomen were in the act of discharging this pious duty, a young gentleman suddenly appeared amongst them, and without any explanation, proceeded to pour out a bottle of rich perfume on the dead body. "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love," said one of the ladies, and then without uttering a word, this singular visitor departed. He was, however, afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named George Stirling. Guthrie was executed on the 1st June, 1661.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, the author of the well known work entitled, "The Christian's Great Interest," was born at Pitforth in Forfarshire, in the year 1620. His father was proprietor of that estate and was a cadet of the family of that ilk. He had five sons, of whom it is remarkable that four devoted themselves to the ministry. Of these William was the eldest.

The rank and estate of Mr Guthrie enabled him to educate his sons liberally for the profession which so many of them had from their early years chosen. William, with whom alone we are at present concerned, made while very young such advances in classical literature, as to give high hopes of future eminence. His academical education was conducted at St Andrew's University under the immediate direction of his relation, Mr James Guthrie, afterwards an heroic martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty. The records of the university for this period are unfortunately lost, so that the time of his matriculation, or any other information respecting his advancement or proficiency cannot be obtained from that source. We know, however, that after completing the philosophical curriculum he took the degree of master of arts, and then devoted his attention to the study of divinity under Mr Samuel Rutherford. At length he applied to the Presbytery of St Andrew's for licence, and having gone through the usual "tryalls" he obtained it in August, 1642. Soon afterwards he left St Andrew's, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the professors, in which they expressed a high opinion of his character and talents.

Mr Guthrie was now engaged by the earl of Loudon as tutor to his son lord Mauchlin. In that situation he remained till his ordination as first minister of Fenwick—a parish which had till that time formed part of that of Kilmarnock. Lord Boyd, the superior of the latter, a staunch royalist and a supporter of the association formed at Cumbernauld in favour of the king in 1641,—had also the patronage of Fenwick. This nobleman was most decidedly averse to Mr Guthrie's appointment—from what reasons does not appear, although we may be allowed to conjecture that it arose either from Mr Guthrie's decided principles, or from the steady attachment of the Loudon family to the presbyterian interest. Some of the parishioners, however, had heard him preach a preparation sermon in the church of Galston, became his warmest advocates, and were supported in their solicitations by the influence of the heritors. Mr Guthrie was after some delay ordained minister of the parish on the 7th of November, 1644.

The difficulties which Mr Guthrie had to encounter when he entered upon his charge were neither few nor unimportant. From the former large extent of the parish of Kilmarnock, the nature of the country, and the badness, in many cases the total want, of roads, a large mass of the people must have entirely wanted the benefits of religious instruction. He left no plan untried to improve their condition in that respect. By every means in his power he allured the ignorant or the vicious: to some he even gave bribes to attend the church; others in more remote districts he visited as if incidentally travelling through their country, or even sometimes in the disguise of a sportsman; in such cases, says the author of the Scots Worthies, "he gained some to a religious life whom he could have had little influence upon in a minister's dress."



In August, 1645, Mr Guthrie married Agnes, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon in Ayrshire, but he was soon called to leave his happy home by his appointment as a chaplain to the army. He continued with them till the battle of Dunbar was fought and lost: after it he retired with the troops to Stirling; from thence he went to Edinburgh, where we find him dating his letters about six weeks afterwards. The last remove was viewed by the clergy with considerable jealousy; and their suspicions of an "intended compliance," intimated to him in a letter from Mr Samuel Rutherford, must have been a source of much distress and embarrassment to him. That such was not his intention his subsequent conduct showed, nor was it any part of Cromwell's policy to convert the Scottish clergy by torture or imprisonment. Upon entering the metropolis he intimated that he did not wish to interfere with the religion of the country, and that those ministers who had taken refuge in the castle might resume their functions in their respective parishes.

But while Cromwell determined to leave the clergy and people of Scotland to their own free will in matters of religion, it is lamentable to observe that they split into factions, which were the cause of some violent and unchristian exhibitions. When they divided into the grand parties of resolutioners and remonstrators, or protesters, Mr Guthrie joined the latter: but he displayed little of that animosity which so unfortunately distinguished many of his brethren. He preached with those whose political opinions differed from his own, and earnestly engaged in every measure which might restore the peace of the church. But while we cannot but lament their existence, these dissensions do not seem to have been unfavourable to the growth of religion in the country. On the contrary, both Law and Kirkton inform us that "there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel" during that period, "more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years." We have some notices of public disputes which took place during the Protectorate,—particularly of one at Cupar in 1652, between a regimental chaplain and a presbyterian clergyman.<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable that this freedom of debate, and the consequent liberty of professing any religious sentiments, may have been one great cause of so remarkable a revival.

From this period to the Restoration, few interesting events present themselves to the reader of Scottish history. We do not find any notice of Mr Guthrie till the year 1661, when all the fabric which the presbyterians had raised during the reign of Charles I. was destroyed at one blow. Of the exaggerated benefits anticipated from the reformation of his son every one who has read our national history is aware. Charles II. was permitted to return to the throne with no farther guarantee for the civil and religious liberties of his people than fine speeches or fair promises. It was not long before our Scottish ancestors discovered their mistake; but the fatal power, which recalls to the mind the ancient fable of the countryman and the serpent, was now fully armed, and was as uncompromising as inhuman in its exercise. In the dark and awful struggle which followed, Mr Guthrie was not an idle spectator. He attended the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which was held at the former place in April, 1661, and framed an address to the parliament at once spirited and moderate. Unfortunately, when this address was brought forward for the approbation of the Synod, the members were so much divided that one party declared their determination to dissent in the event of its being presented. In such circumstances it could only prove a disgraceful memorial of their distractions, and many, otherwise approving of its spirit and temper, voted against any further procedure. The "Glasgow Act," by which all ministers who had been ordained

<sup>1</sup> Lamont's Diary, ed. 1830, p. 48.

after 1649, and did not receive collation from their bishop, were banished, soon followed; but it did not affect Mr Guthrie.

Through the good offices of the earl of Glencairn, (to whom Mr Guthrie had some opportunity of doing a favour during his imprisonment before the Restoration,) he had hitherto escaped many of the evils which had visited so large a majority of his brethren. Dr Alexander Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, now began to act with great severity towards the nonconforming clergy of his diocese. To the intreaty of lord Glencairn and of other noblemen, that he would in the meantime overlook Mr Guthrie, the haughty prelate only replied "That cannot be done,—it shall not: he is a ringleader and a keeper up of schism in my diocese." With much difficulty he prevailed upon the curate of Calder, for the paltry bribe of five pounds, to intimate his suspension. The parishioners of Fenwick had determined to oppose such an intimation even at the risk of rebellion, but were prevailed upon to desist from an attempt which would have drawn undoubted ruin upon themselves. The paltry curate, therefore, proceeded upon his errand with a party of twelve soldiers, and intimated to Mr Guthrie, and afterwards in the parish church, his commission from archbishop Burnet to suspend him. Wodrow mentions that when he wrote his history it was still confidently asserted "that Mr Guthrie, at parting, did signify to the curate that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him for what he was now doing,"—but that this report rested on very doubtful authority. "Whatever be in this," he continues, "I am well assured the curate never preached more after he left Fenwick. He came to Glasgow, and whether he reached Calder—but four miles beyond it—I know not: but in four days he died in great torment of an iliac passion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. So hazardous a thing is it to meddle with Christ's sent servants."

Mr Guthrie remained in the parish of Fenwick for a year after this time without preaching. In the autumn of 1665, he went to Pitforthly, where his brother's affairs required his presence. He had only been there a few days when a complaint which had preyed upon his constitution for many years, a threatening of stone, returned with great violence, accompanied by internal ulceration. After some days of extreme pain, in the intervals of which he often cheered his friends by his prospects of happiness in a sinless state, he died in the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lewis Skinner, at Brechin on the 10th of October, 1665.

Mr Guthrie would in all probability never have appeared before the world as an author, had it not been requisite in his own defence. In 1656 or 1657, a volume was published, containing imperfect notes of sermons preached by him on the 55th chapter of Isaiah. Although it had a considerable circulation, he was not less displeased with its contents than the pomposity of its title. It was true, indeed, that it was not brought forward as his production, yet Mr Guthrie "was reputed the author through the whole country," and therefore bound to disclaim it in his own vindication. He accordingly revised the notes which he had preserved of these sermons; and from thence wrote his only genuine work "The Christian's Great Interest," now better known by the title of the First Part, "The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ." Any praise that could here be bestowed upon the work would be superfluous. It has gained for itself the best proof of its merits,—a circulation almost unparalleled among that class of readers for which it was perhaps chiefly intended, the intelligent Scottish peasantry.

John Howie mentions, in his *Scots Worthies*, that "there were also some discourses of Mr Guthrie's in manuscript," out of which he transcribed seventeen

sermons, published in the year 1779. At the same period there were also a great number of MS. sermons and notes bearing his name. Some of these had apparently been taken from his widow by a party of soldiers who entered her house by violence, and took her son-in-law prisoner in 1682.

It may be necessary here to allude to another work connected with Mr Guthrie's name,—“The heads of some sermons preached at Fenwick in August, 1662, by Mr William Guthrie, upon Matt. xiv. 24, &c. anent the trials of the Lord's people, their support in, and deliverance from them by Jesus Christ,” published in 1680, and reprinted in 1714. This work was wholly unauthorized by his representatives, being taken, not from his own MSS. but from imperfect notes or recollections of some of his hearers. His widow published an advertisement disclaiming it, a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, among the collections of the indefatigable Wodrow.

Memoirs of Mr Guthrie will be found in the Scots Worthies, and at the beginning of the work “The Christian's Great Interest.” A later and more complete sketch of his life, interspersed with his letters to Sir William Muir, younger, has been written by the Rev. William Muir, the editor of the interesting genealogical little work, “The History of the House of Rowallan.” From the latter, most of the materials for the present notice have been drawn.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, a political, historical, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Forfarshire, in the year 1708. His father was an episcopal minister at Brechin, and a cadet of a family which has for a long time possessed considerable influence in that part of the country. He studied at King's college in Aberdeen, and having taken his degrees, had resolved to retire early from the activity and ambition of the world, to the humble pursuits of a Scottish parochial schoolmaster; from this retreat, however, he seems to have been early driven, by the consequences of some unpropitious affair of the heart, hinted at but not named by his biographers, which seems to have created, from its circumstances, so great a ferment among the respectable connexions of the schoolmaster, that he resolved to try his fortune in the mighty labyrinth of London. Other accounts mingle with this the circumstance of his having been an adherent of the house of Stuart, which is likely enough from his parentage, and of his consequently being disabled from holding any office under the Hanoverian government—a method of making his livelihood which his character informs us he would not have found disagreeable could he have followed it up; at all events, we find him in London, after the year 1730, working hard as a general literary man for his livelihood, and laying himself out as a doer of all work in the profession of letters. Previously to Dr Johnson's connexion with the Gentleman's Magazine, which commenced about the year 1738, Guthrie had been in the habit of collecting and arranging the parliamentary debates for that periodical, or rather of putting such words into the mouths of certain statesmen, as he thought they might or should have made use of, clothing the names of the senators in allegorical terms; a system to which a dread of the power of parliament, and the uncertainty of the privilege of being present at debates, prompted the press at that time to have recourse. When Johnson had been regularly employed as a writer in the magazine, the reports, after receiving such embellishments as Guthrie could bestow on them, were sent to him by Cave, to receive the final touch of oratorical colouring; and sometimes afterwards the labour was performed by Johnson alone, considerably, it may be presumed, to the fame and appreciation of the honourable orators. Guthrie soon after this period had managed to let it be known to government, that he was a person who could write well, and that it might depend on circumstances whether he should use his pen as the medium of attack or of defence. The matter was placed on its proper footing, and

Mr Guthrie received from the Pelham administration a pension of £200 a-year. He was a man who knew better how to maintain his ground than the ministry did, and he managed with his pension to survive its fall. Nearly twenty years afterwards, we find him making laudable efforts for the continuance of his allowance by the then administration:—the following letter addressed to a minister, one of the coolest specimens of literary commerce on record, we cannot avoid quoting.

June 3d, 1762.

"MY LORD,—In the year 1745-6, Mr Pelham, then first lord of the treasury, acquainted me, that it was his majesty's pleasure I should receive till better provided for, which never has happened, £200 a-year, to be paid by him and his successors in the treasury. I was satisfied with the august name made use of, and the appointment has been regularly and quarterly paid me ever since. I have been equally punctual in doing the government all the services that fell within my abilities or sphere of life, especially in those critical situations which call for unanimity in the service of the crown. Your lordship will possibly now suspect that I am an author by profession—you are not deceived; and you will be less so, if you believe that I am disposed to serve his majesty under your lordship's future patronage and protection, with greater zeal, if possible, than ever. I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.,

WILLIAM GUTHRIE."

This application, as appears from its date, had been addressed to a member of the Bute administration, and within a year after it was written, the author must have had to undergo the task of renewing his appeal, and changing his political principles. The path he had chosen out was one of danger and difficulty; but we have the satisfaction of knowing, that the reward of his submission to the powers that were, and of his contempt for common political prejudices, was duly continued to the day of his death.

The achievements of Guthrie in the literary world, it is not easy distinctly or satisfactorily to trace. The works which bear his name, would rank him as, perhaps, the most miscellaneous and extensive author in the world, but he is generally believed to have been as regardless of the preservation of his literary fame, as of his political constancy, and to have shielded the productions of authors less known to the world, under the sanction of his name. About the year 1763, he published "a complete History of the English Peerage, from the best authorities, illustrated with elegant copperplates of the arms of the nobility, &c." The noble personages, whose ancestors appeared in this work as the embodied models of all human perfection, were invited to correct and revise the portions in which they felt interested before they were committed to the press; nevertheless the work is full of mistakes, and has all the appearance of having been touched by a hasty though somewhat vigorous hand. Thus, the battle of Dettingen, as connected with the history of the duke of Cumberland, is mentioned as having taken place in June, 1744, while, in the account of the duke of Marlborough, the period retrogrades to 1742—both being exactly the same distance of time from the true era of the battle, which was 1743. Very nearly in the same neighbourhood, George the II. achieves the feat of leaving Hanover on the 16th of June, and reaching Aschaffenberg on the 10th of the same month; in a similar manner the house of peers is found addressing his majesty on the subject of the battle of Culloden on the 29th of August, 1746, just after the prorogation of parliament. To this work Mr Guthrie procured the assistance of Mr Ralph Bigland. Guthrie afterwards wrote a History of England in three large folios; it commences with the Conquest, and terminates, rather earlier than it would appear the author had at first intended, at the end of the Republic. This work has the merit of being

the earliest British history which placed reliance on the fund of authentic information, to be found in the records of parliament. But the genius of Guthrie was not to be chained to the history of the events of one island; at divers times about the years 1764-5, appeared portions of "A General History of the World, from the creation to the present time, by William Guthrie, esq., John Gray, esq., and others, eminent in this branch of literature," in twelve volumes. "No authors," says the Critical Review, "ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions." Guthrie was then a principal writer in that leading periodical, in which his works received much praise, because, to save trouble, and as being best acquainted with the subject, the author of the books took on himself the duties of critic, and was consequently well satisfied with the performance. In 1767, Mr Guthrie published in parts a History of Scotland, in ten volumes, octavo. It commences with "the earliest period," and introduces us to an ample acquaintance with Dornadilla, Durst, Corbred, and the numerous other long-lived monarchs, whose names Father Innes had, some time previously, consigned to the regions of fable. Of several of these persons he presents us with very respectable portraits, which prove their taste in dress, and knowledge of theatrical effect, to have been by no means contemptible. In this work the author adheres with pertinacity to many opinions which prior authors of celebrity considered they had exploded; like Goodall, he seems anxious to take vengeance on those who showed the ancient Scots to have come from Ireland, by proving the Irish to have come from Scotland, and a similar spirit seems to have actuated him in maintaining the *regiam magestatem* of Scotland, to have been the original of the *regiam potestatem* of Glanvil—Nicholson and others having discovered that the Scottish code was borrowed from the English. With all its imperfections, this book constituted the best complete history of Scotland published during the last century, and it is not without regret that we are compelled to admit its superiority to any equally lengthy, detailed, and comprehensive history of Scotland which has yet appeared. The views of policy are frequently profound and accurate, and the knowledge of the contemporaneous history of other nations frequently exhibited, shows that attention and consideration might have enabled the author to have produced a standard historical work; towards its general merits Pinkerton has addressed the following growl of qualified praise:—"Guthrie's History of Scotland, is the best of the modern, but it is a mere money-job, hasty and inaccurate." It would be a useless and tedious task to particularize the numerous works of this justly styled "miscellaneous writer." One of the works, however, which bear his name, has received the unqualified approbation of the world. "Guthrie's Historical and Geographical Grammar" is known to every one, from the school-boy to the philosopher, as a useful and well digested manual of information. This work had reached its twenty-first edition before the year 1810; it was translated into French in 1801, by Messieurs Noel and Soules, and the translation was re-edited for the fourth time in a very splendid manner in 1807. The astronomical information was supplied by James Gregory, and rumour bestows on Knox, the bookseller, the reputation of having written the remaining part under the guarantee of a name of literary authority. Besides the works already enumerated, Guthrie translated Quintilian, Cicero De Officiis, and Cicero's Epistles to Atticus—he likewise wrote, "The Friends, a sentimental history," in two volumes, and "Remarks on English Tragedy." This singular individual terminated his laborious life in March, 1770. The following tribute to his varied qualifications is to be found on his tombstone in Mary-le-bone,—

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9th March, 1770, aged sixty-two, representative of the ancient family of Guthrie of Halkerton, in the county of Angus, North Britain: eminent for knowledge in all branches of literature, and of the British constitution, which his many works, historical, geographical, classical, critical, and political, do testify; to whom this monument was erected, by order of his brother, Henry Guthrie, esq., in the year 1777."

Guthrie was one of those individuals who live by making themselves useful to others, and his talents and habits dictated the most profitable occupation for his time to be composition: he seems to have exulted in the self-imposed term of "an author by profession;" and we find him three years before his death complacently styling himself, in a letter to the earl of Buchan, "the oldest author by profession in Britain:" like many who have maintained a purer fame, and filled a higher station, his political principles were guided by emolument, which, in his instance, seems to have assumed the aspect of pecuniary necessity. Had not his engagements with the booksellers prompted him to aim at uniting the various qualities of a Hume, a Robertson, a Johnson, a Camden, and a Cowley, attention to one particular branch of his studies might have made his name illustrious. Johnson considered him a person of sufficient eminence to regret that his life had not been written, and uttered to Boswell the following sententious opinion of his merits:—"Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no regular fund of knowledge, but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal." Boswell elsewhere states in a note—"Hew much poetry he wrote, I know not, but he informed me, that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, 'the Eagle and Robin Red-breast,' in the collection of poems entitled 'The Union,' though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott, before the year 1698."

## H

HACKSTON, David, of Rathillet, is a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Scotland, from its connexion with the events of 1679-80, and from its pre-eminence in some of the most remarkable transactions of that stormy period. Hackston, though indebted for his celebrity to the seal and courage which he displayed in the cause of the covenanters, is said to have led an exceedingly irreligious life during his earlier years, from which he was reclaimed by attending some of the field preachings of the period, when he became a sincere and devoted convert. The first remarkable transaction in which he was engaged in connexion with the party with which he had now associated himself, was the murder of archbishop Sharpe. Hackston of Rathillet formed a conspicuous figure in the group of that prelate's assassins, although in reality he had no immediate hand in the murder. He seems, however, even previous to this to have gained a considerable ascendancy over his more immediate companions, and to have been already looked up to by his party, as a man whose daring courage and enthusiasm promised to be of essential service to their cause. When the archbishop's carriage came in sight of the conspirators, of whom there were eight besides Hackston, they unanimously chose him their leader, pledging themselves to obey him in every thing in the conduct of the proposed attack on the prelate. This distinction, however, Hackston declined, on the ground that he had a private quarrel with the archbishop, and that, therefore, if he should take an active part in his destruction, the world would allege that he had done it to

gratify a personal hatred—a feeling, of which he declared he entertained none whatever towards their intended victim. He further urged scruples of conscience regarding the proposed deed, of the lawfulness of which he said he by no means felt assured, the archbishop, as is well known, having only come accidentally in the way of Hackston and his associates. Hackston having refused the command of the party, another was chosen, and under his directions the murder was perpetrated. Whilst the shocking scene was going forward, Hackston kept altogether aloof, and countenanced it no further than by looking on. He seems, however, to have had little other objection to the commission of the crime, than that he himself should not have an immediate hand in its accomplishment; for when the unfortunate old man, after being compelled to come out of his carriage by the assassins, appealed to him for protection,—saying, “Sir, I knew you are a gentleman, you will protect me,” he contented himself with replying that he would never lay a hand on him. Rathillet was on horseback, from which he did not alight during the whole time of the murder. Next day, the conspirators divided themselves into two parties—three remaining in Fife, and five, with Rathillet, proceeding north in the direction of Dumblane and Perth. Soon after they repaired to the west, and finally joined a body of covenanters at Evandale. Here the latter having drawn up a declaration, containing their testimony to the truth, Rathillet with another, Mr Douglas, one of the most intrepid of the covenanting clergymen, was appointed to publish it. For this purpose he proceeded with his colleague to the town of Rutherglen, where, on 29th May, after burning, at the market cross, all those acts of parliament and council which they and their party deemed prejudicial to their interest, they proclaimed the testimony. Hackston’s next remarkable appearance was at the battle of Drumclog, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On the alarm being given that Claverhouse was in sight, and approaching the position of the covenanters, who, though they had met there for divine worship, were all well armed, Hackston and Hall of Haugh-head placed themselves at the head of the footmen, and led them gallantly on against the dragoons of Claverhouse. The result of that encounter is well known. The bravery of the covenanters prevailed. The affair of Drumclog was soon after followed by that of Bothwell Brig, where Rathillet again made himself conspicuous by his intrepidity, being, with his troop of horse, the last of the whole army of the covenanters on the field of battle. He had flown from rank to rank, when he saw the confusion which was arising amongst the covenanters, and alternately threatened and besought the men to keep their ground. Finding all his efforts vain, “My friends,” he said, addressing his troop, “we can do no more, we are the last upon the field;” and he now, retreating himself, endeavoured as much as possible to cover the rear of the flying covenanters. Rathillet sought safety in concealment, for, besides what he had to fear from his having carried arms against the government, he had also to apprehend the consequences of a proclamation which had been issued, offering a reward of 10,000 merks for his apprehension, or any of those concerned in the death of the archbishop of St Andrews. For twelve months he contrived to escape, but was at length taken prisoner at Airmour, by Bruce of Earls-hall. Rathillet, with about sixty other persons, had come to the place just named, to attend a preaching by Richard Cameron, the celebrated founder of the sect called Cameronians, when they were surprised by Bruce with a large body of horse, and after a desperate resistance, during which Hackston was severely wounded, he and several others were taken. Cameron himself was killed in this affair, with nine of his adherents. Hackston gives a very interesting account of this skirmish, and, without the slightest aim at effect, has presented us with as remarkable and striking an in-

stance of the spirit of the times, of the almost romantic bravery and resolution which religious fervour had inspired into the covenanters, as is upon record. It appears from the account alluded to, that the party to which Hackston was attached, had been informed that the military were in search of them, and that, to avoid the latter, they had spent some days and nights, previous to their encountering them, in the moors. On the day on which the skirmish took place, while wandering through the morasses, they came upon a spot of grass, which tempted them to halt. Here they laid themselves down and took some refreshment, but while thus employed, they were startled with the intelligence that their enemies were approaching them, Hackston conjectures, to the number of at least 112 men, well armed and mounted; while the force of the covenanters did not amount to more than sixty-three, of which forty were on foot, and twenty-three on horseback, and the greater part of them but poorly appointed. Unappalled by those odds, Hackston immediately formed his little host in battle array, and, while doing so, asked them if they were all willing to fight. The reply was readily given in the affirmative, and preparations were instantly made for a desperate conflict. In the meantime the dragoons were fast advancing towards them. Hackston, however, did not wait for the attack, but put his little band also in motion, and bravely marched on to meet their enemy. "Our horse," says Hackston, "advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they following me and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance, we both being on foot, fought it with small swords without advantage of one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with those on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much,—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men." Hackston with several others were now, his little party having been defeated, carried prisoners to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark. Here he was brought before Dalyell, who, not being satisfied with his answers, threatened in the brutal manner peculiar to him to roast him for his contumacy. Without any regard to the miserable condition in which Hackston was—dreadfully wounded and worn out with fatigue—Dalyell now ordered him to be put in irons, and to be fastened down to the floor of his prison, and would not allow of any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. On Saturday, two days after the affair of Airmoss, Rathillet, with other three prisoners, were brought to Edinburgh. On arriving at the city, they were carried round about by the north side of the town, and made to enter at the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates. Here the unparalleled cruelties to which Hackston was subjected commenced. Before entering the town he was placed upon a horse with "his face backward, and the other three were bound on a goad of iron, and Mr Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him, and another head in a sack on a lad's back." And thus disposed, the procession moved up the street towards the Parliament Close, where the prisoners were loosed by the hands of the hangman. Rathillet was immediately carried before the council, and examined regarding the murder of archbishop Sharpe, and on several points relative to his religious and political doctrines. Here he conducted himself with the same fortitude which had distinguished him on other perilous occasions, maintaining and defending his opinions, however unpalatable they might be to his judges. After undergoing a



second examination by the council, he was handed over to the court of justiciary, with instructions from the former to the latter, to proceed against him with the utmost severity. On the 29th of July he was brought to trial as an accessory to the murder of the primate, for publishing two seditious papers, and for having carried arms against his sovereign. Rathillet declined the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. This, however, of course, availed him nothing. On the day following he was again brought to the bar, and in obedience to the injunctions of the council, sentenced to suffer a death unsurpassed in cruelty by any upon record, and which had been dictated by the council previous to his trial by the justiciary court, in the certain anticipation of his condemnation. After receiving sentence, the unfortunate man was carried directly from the bar and placed upon a hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. On his ascending the scaffold, where none were permitted to be with him but two magistrates and the executioner, and his attendants, the cruelties to which he had been condemned were begun. His right hand was struck off; but the hangman performing the operation in a tardy and bungling manner, Rathillet, when he came to take off the left hand also, desired him to strike on the joint. This done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and allowed to fall again with a sudden and violent jerk. Having been three times subjected to this barbarous proceeding, he was hoisted again to the top of the gibbet, when the executioner with a large knife laid open his breast, before he was yet dead, and pulled out his heart. This he now stuck on the point of a knife, and showed it on all sides to the spectators, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor." It was then thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose. His body was afterwards quartered. One quarter, together with his hands, were sent to St Andrews, another to Glasgow, a third to Leith, and a fourth to Burntisland; his head being fixed upon the Netherbow. Thus perished Hackston of Rathillet, a man in whose life, and in the manner of whose death, we find at once a remarkable but faithful specimen of the courage and fortitude of the persecuted of the seventeenth century, and of the inhuman and relentless spirit of their persecutors.

HALKET, (LADY) ANNE, whose extensive learning and voluminous theological writings, place her in the first rank of female authors, was the daughter of Mr Robert Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, and was born at London, January 4th, 1622. She may be said to have been trained up in habits of scholastic study from her very infancy, her father being preceptor to Charles I., (and afterwards provost of Eton college,) and her mother, who was allied to the noble family of Perth, acting as sub-governess to the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth. Lady Anne was instructed by her parents in every polite and liberal science; but theology and physic were her favourite subjects; and she became so proficient in the latter, and in the more unfeminine science of surgery, that the most eminent professional men, as well as invalids of the first rank, both in Britain and on the continent, sought her advice. Being, as might have been expected, a staunch royalist, her family and herself suffered with the misfortunes of Charles. She was married on March 2d, 1656, to Sir James Halket, to whom she bore four children, all of whom died young, with the exception of her eldest son Robert. During her pregnancy with the latter, she wrote an admirable tract, "The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child," under the impression of her not surviving her delivery. Her husband died in the year 1670; but she survived till April 22d, 1699, and left no less than twenty-one volumes behind her, chiefly on religious subjects, one of which, her "Meditations," was printed at Edinburgh in 1701. She is said to have been a woman of singular but unaffected piety, and of the sweetest simplicity of manners; and those quali-

ties, together with her great talents and learning, drew upon her the universal esteem and respect of her cotemporaries of all ranks.

HALL, (SIR) JAMES, Bart., was born at Dungleass in East Lothian, on the 17th January, 1761. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hall, who had married his cousin, Magdalen, daughter to Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchell in Berwickshire. The subject of our memoir received a private education until his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to a public school in the neighbourhood of London, where he had the good fortune to be under the care and superintendence of his uncle, Sir John Pringle, the king's physician. He succeeded to the baronetcy by the death of his father, in July 1776, and much about the same period entered himself in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he remained for some years. He then proceeded with his tutor, the reverend Mr Brand, on a tour on the continent, whence he returned to Edinburgh, when twenty years old, and lived there with his tutor until he became of age, attending, at the same time, some of the classes of the Edinburgh university. In 1782, Sir James Hall made a second tour on the continent of Europe, where he remained for more than three years, gradually acquiring that accurate information in geology, chemistry, and Gothic architecture, which he afterwards made so useful to the world. During this period he visited the courts of Europe, and made himself acquainted with their scientific men. In his rambles he had occasion to meet with the adventurer Ledyard; the interview between them, its cause, and consequence, are, with a sense of gratitude and justice not often witnessed on similar occasions, detailed in the journals and correspondence of that singular man; and the scene is so honourable to the feelings of Sir James Hall, that we cannot avoid quoting it in Ledyard's own words:

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed, at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the anti-chamber—I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece, and a louis d'or that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do—you have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. 'This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris.'"

The sum was extremely acceptable to Ledyard, for the consumption of the six livre piece and the louis d'or would have left him utterly destitute; but he had no more expectation or right to assistance from Sir James Hall, than (to use his own simile) from the khan of Tartary. On his return to Scotland, Sir James Hall married, in 1786, the lady Helen Douglas, second daughter of Dunbar, earl of Selkirk. Living a life of retirement, Sir James commenced his connexion with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was for some time president,

<sup>1</sup> Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence, 1828, pp. 223, 224.

and enriched its transactions by accounts of experiments on a bold and extensive scale. The results were in many instances so important, that they deserve to be cursorily mentioned in this memoir, which, treating of a scientific man, would be totally void of interest without some reference to them. He was a supporter of the theory of Dr Hutton, who maintained the earth to be the production of heat, and all its geological formations the natural consequences of fusion; and his experiments may be said to be special evidence collected for the support of this cause. Among the minute investigations made by the supporters of both sides of the controversy, it had been discovered by the Neptunians, that in some granites, where quartz and felspar were united, the respective crystals were found mutually to impress each other—therefore, that they must have been in a state of solution together, and must have congealed simultaneously; but as felspar fuses with less heat than is required for quartz, the latter, if both were melted by fire, must have returned to its solidity previously to the former, and so the felspar would have yielded entirely to the impression of the crystals of the quartz. Sir James Hall discovered, that when the two substances were pulverized, and mixed in the proportions in which they usually occur in granite, a heat very little superior to that required to melt the felspar alone, fused both, the felspar acting in some respects as a solvent, or flux to the quartz. Making allowance for the defects of art, the result of the experiment, while it could not be used as a positive proof to the theory of the Huttonians, served to defend them from what might have proved a conclusive argument of their opponents. But the other experiments were founded on wider views, and served to illustrate truths more important. The characteristic of the theory of Dr Hutton, distinguishing it from those of others who maintained the formation of the earth by means of fire, was, that perceiving the practical effect of heat on most of the bodies which formed the crust of the earth, to be calcination, or change of state, and not fusion, or change of form, and knowing from the experiments of Dr Black, that, in the case of limestones, the change depended on the separation of the carbonic acid gas from the earth, the theorist concluded, that by a heat beyond what human agency could procure, calcareous earths might be fused, provided the gas were prevented from escaping, by means of strong pressure. Sir James Hall, conceiving it possible that a sufficient heat might be procured, to exemplify the theory on some calcareous bodies, commenced a series of experiments in 1798, which he prosecuted through success and disappointment for seven years. The result of these experiments produced an elaborate paper, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and published in the Transactions of that body in 1806; they were in number one hundred and fifty-six, some successful, others productive of the disappointment to which accident frequently exposes the zealous chemist,—conducted with considerable danger, great expense, and unvarying patience and labour, and on the whole singularly satisfactory in their results. The plan followed by Sir James was, to procure a tube which might afford a strong resistance to inward pressure, for which purpose he alternately tried iron, and porcelain; one end being closed up, pulverized chalk or other limestone was inserted, and the space betwixt its surface and the mouth of the tube being closely packed with some impervious substance, such as clay baked and pounded, fused metal, &c., the open extremity was hermetically sealed, and the end which contained the substance to be experimented upon, subjected to the action of a furnace. The iron or the porcelain was frequently found insufficient to sustain the pressure; the substance rammed into the tube to prevent the longitudinal escape of the gas had not always the effect, nor could Sir James, even in the most refined of his experiments, prevent a partial though sometimes scarcely perceptible escape of gas; yet the general results showed the truth of

the theory on which he had proceeded to act, with singular applicability;—the first successful experiment procured him from a piece of common chalk, broken to powder, a hard stony mass, which dissolved in muriatic acid with violent effervescence—sometimes the fruit of his labour was covered with crystals visible to the naked eye—proving fusion, and re-formation as a limestone mineral. The results of these experiments, as applicable to the formation of the earth, were reduced to a table, in which, by a presumption that the pressure of water had been the agent of nature, the author considers that 1700 feet of sea, with the assistance of heat, is sufficient for the formation of limestone—that by 3000 feet a complete marble may be formed, &c.;—it may be remarked that a fragment of marble, manufactured by Sir James Hall in the course of his experiments, so far deceived the workman employed to give it a polish, that, acting under the presumption that the fragment had been dug up in Scotland, he remarked, that if it were but a little whiter, the mine where it was found might be very valuable.

In 1808, Sir James Hall represented the burgh of St Michael's in Cornwall; but after the dissolution of parliament in 1812, he did not again offer himself as a candidate. In 1813, he published his well known "*Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture*," in one volume quarto, accompanied with plates and illustrations. It contained an enlargement and correction of the contents of a paper on the same subject, delivered before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1797. This elegant volume is the most popular and esteemed work on the subject of which it treats, both in the particular theory it espouses, and the interest of its details. The origin and formation of Gothic architecture had given birth to many theories, accounting for it on the imitative principles which guide the formation of all architecture, some ingenious, but none satisfactory. Warburton pointed out the similarity of Gothic aisles, to avenues of growing trees. Milner adopted the theory propounded in Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral*, that the pointed arch was formed by the interlacing of two semicircular arches; and Murphy referred the whole formation of Gothic architecture to an imitation of the form of the pyramid. Sir James Hall perceived that no form could be appropriately assumed in Gothic architecture which might not be constructed in wicker-ware; and considered that the earliest stone buildings of this peculiar form were imitations of the natural forms assumed in constructions of boughs and twigs. "It happened," he says, in giving a lively account of the circumstance which hinted such a theory, "that the peasants of the country through which I was travelling were employed in collecting and bringing home the long rods or poles, which they make use of to support their vines, and these were to be seen in every village, standing in bundles, or waving partly loose in carts. It occurred to me that a rustic dwelling might be constructed of such rods, bearing a resemblance to works of Gothic architecture, and from which the peculiar forms of that style might have been derived. This conjecture was at first employed to account for the main parts of the structure, and for its general appearance only; but after a diligent investigation, carried on at intervals, with the assistance of friends, both in the collection of materials, and the solution of difficulties, I have been enabled to reduce even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style to the same simple origin; and to account for every feature belonging to it, from an imitation of wicker work, modified according to the principles just laid down, as applicable to architecture of every sort." Sir James, who was never fond of trusting to the power of theory without practice, erected with twigs and boughs a very beautiful Gothic edifice, from which he drew conclusions strikingly illustrative of his theory. But it must be allowed, that he has carried it in some re-

spects a little beyond the bounds of certainty, and that, however much our tasteful ancestors continued to follow the course which chance had dictated of the imitation of vegetable formations in stone, many forms were imitated, which were never attempted in the wicker edifices of our far distant progenitors. A specimen of this reasoning is to be found in the author's tracing the origin of those graceful spherical angles, which adorn the interior parts of the bents of the mullions in the more ornate windows of Gothic churches, to an imitation of the curled form assumed by the bark when in a state of decay, and ready to drop from the bough. The similitude is fanciful, and may be pronounced to be founded on incorrect data, as the ornament in question cannot be of prior date to that of the second period of Gothic architecture, and was unknown till many ages after the twig edifices were forgotten. The theory forms a check on the extravagancies of modern Gothic imitations, and it were well if those who perpetrate such productions, would follow the advice of Sir James Hall, and correct their work by a comparison with nature. This excellent and useful man,<sup>1</sup> after a lingering illness of three and a half years, died at Edinburgh on the 23d day of June, 1832. Of a family at one time very numerous, he left behind him five children, of whom the second was the late distinguished captain Basil Hall.

HALYBURTON, THOMAS, an eminent author and divine, and professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews, was born in December, 1674, at Dupplin in the parish of Aberdalgy, near Perth, of which parish his father had been clergyman for many years, but being a "non-conformist," was ejected after the Restoration. Upon his death, in 1682, his widow emigrated to Holland with Thomas, her only son, then eight years old, on account of the persecutions to which those of their persuasion were still exposed in their native country. This event proved fortunate for the subject of this notice, who attained uncommon proficiency in all branches of classical literature. He returned to Scotland in 1687, and after completing the usual curriculum of university education, turned his views to the church, and entered upon the proper course of study for that profession. He was licensed in 1699, and in the following year was appointed minister of the parish of Ceres, in Fifeshire. Here he continued till 1710, distinguished by the piety of his conduct, and the zeal with which he performed the duties of this charge, when his health becoming impaired in consequence of his pastoral exertions, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of the Synod of Fife, to the professor's chair of divinity in St Leonard's college at St Andrews, by patent from queen Anne. About this period, *Deism* had partly begun to come into fashion in Scotland, in imitation of the free-thinking in England and on the continent, where it had been revived in the preceding century. Many writers of great learning and talent had adopted this belief, and lent their pens either directly or indirectly to its propagation, the unhappy consequences of which were beginning to display themselves on the public mind. To counteract their pernicious influence, Mr

<sup>1</sup> The following anecdote of Sir James Hall, which has been related to us by the individual concerned in it, appears to be characteristic of the philosopher. Our friend had become interested in some improvements suggested upon the quadrant by a shoemaker named Gavin White, resident at Aberdour in Fife; and he sent an account of them to Sir James Hall, desiring to have his opinion of them. A few days after, Sir James Hall visited our friend, and, with little preface, addressed him as follows: "Sir, I suppose you thought me a proper person to write to on this subject, because I am president of the Royal Society. I beg to inform you that I am quite ignorant of the quadrant, and therefore unable to estimate the merit of Mr White. I have a son, however, a very clever fellow, now at Loo Choo: if he were here, he would be your man. Good morning, Sir." It occurs to the editor of these volumes, that few philosophers of even greater distinction than Sir James Hall, would have had the candour to confess ignorance upon any subject—although unquestionably to do so is one of the surest marks of superior acquirements and intellect.

Halyburton assiduously applied himself, and on his induction to the professor's chair, delivered an inaugural discourse, taking for his subject a recent publication by the celebrated Dr Pitcairn of Edinburgh, containing an attack on revealed religion under the feigned name of "*Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem albe Græcæ reperta, anno æræ Christianæ, 1688, A. Pitcarnio, M.D. ut vulgo creditur, auctore.*" One of the earliest, and perhaps the most powerful, of all the deistical writers that have yet appeared, was Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire, (elder brother of the amiable George Herbert, the well known English poet,) who figured conspicuously in the political world in the time of Charles I., and wrote several works in disproof of the truth or necessity of revealed religion. His most important publication, entitled "*De Veritate,*" was originally printed at Paris in 1624, in consequence, as the author solemnly declares, of the direct sanction of heaven to that effect, but was afterwards republished in London, and obtained very general circulation. Mr Halyburton applied himself zealously to refute the doctrines contained in these works and others of similar tendency from the pens of different other writers, and produced his "*Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness,*" a most able and elaborate performance, in which he demonstrates with great clearness and force the defective nature of reason, even in judging of the character of a Deity,—the kind of worship which ought to be accorded him, &c. Dr Leland, in his letters, entitled "*View of Deistical Writers,*" expresses great admiration of this performance, and regrets that the narrowness and illiberality of the writer's opinions on some points operated prejudicially against it in the minds of many persons. Neither this nor any other of Mr Halyburton's works were given to the world during his life, which unfortunately terminated in September, 1712, being then only in his thirty-eighth year. Besides the above work, which was published in 1714, the two others by which he is best known in Scotland are "*The Great Concern of Salvation,*" published in 1731, and "*Ten Sermons preached before and after the celebration of the Lord's Supper,*" published in 1732. A complete edition of his works in one vol. 8vo. was some years ago published at Glasgow.

HAMILTON, (COUNT) ANTHONY, a pleasing describer of manners, and writer of fiction, was born about the year 1646. Although a native of Ireland, and in after life more connected with France and England than with Scotland, the parentage of this eminent writer warrants us in considering him a proper person to fill a place in a biography of eminent Scotsmen. The father of Anthony Hamilton was a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton, and his mother was sister to the celebrated duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The course of politics pursued by the father and his connexions compelled him, on the execution of Charles the First, to take refuge on the continent, and the subject of our memoir, then an infant, accompanied his parents and the royal family in their exile in France. The long residence of the exiles in a country where their cause was respected, produced interchanges of social manners, feelings, and pursuits, unknown to the rival nations since the days of the Crusades, and the young writer obtained by early habit that colloquial knowledge of the language, and familiar acquaintance with the magnificent court of France, which enabled him to draw a finished picture of French life, as it existed in its native purity, and as it became gradually engrafted in English society. At the age of fourteen he returned with the restored monarch to England, but in assuming the station and duties of a British subject, he is said to have felt a reluctance to abandon the levities of a gayer minded people, which were to him native feelings. The return of the court brought with it Englishmen, who had assimilated their manners to those of the French, and Frenchmen, anxious to see the

country which had beheaded its king, and not averse to bestow the polish of their own elegant court on the rough framework of the re-constructed kingdom. Of these polished foreigners, the circumstances under which one celebrated individual visited the British court are too much interwoven with the literary fame of Anthony Hamilton, to be here omitted. The chevalier, afterwards count de Grammont, one of the gayest ornaments of the court of Louis, found it inconvenient to remain in France after having disputed with his master the heart of a favourite mistress. High born, personally courageous, enthusiastic in the acquisition of "glory," handsome, extravagant, an inveterate gambler, a victor in war and in love, *Volage, et même un peu perfide en amour*, the French emigrant to the court of England was a perfect human being, according to the measure of the time and the place. The admired qualities with which he was gifted by nature, were such as control and prudence could not make more agreeable; but the friends of the chevalier seem sometimes to have regretted that the liaisons in which he was frequently engaged were so destructive to the peace of others, and would have prudently suggested the pursuit of intrigues, which might have been less dangerous to his personal safety. The chevalier found in his exile a new field rich in objects that engaged his vagrant affections. Tired of alternate conquest and defeat, he is represented as having finally concentrated his affections on the sister of his celebrated biographer, on whom the brother has bestowed poetical charms, in one of the most exquisite of his living descriptions of female beauty, but who has been less charitably treated in the correspondence of some of her female rivals. The attentions of the chevalier towards Miss Hamilton were of that decided cast which admitted of but one interpretation, and justice to his memory requires the admission, that he seemed to have fixed on her as firm and honourable an affection as so versatile a heart could form. But constancy was not his characteristic virtue. He forgot for an interval his vows and promises, and prepared to return to France without making any particular explanation with the lady or her brother. When he had just left the city, Anthony Hamilton and his brother George found it absolutely necessary to prepare their pistols, and give chase to the faithless lover. Before he had reached Dover, the carriage of the offended brothers had nearly overtaken him. "Chevalier De Grammont," they cried, "have you forgot nothing in London?"—"Beg pardon, gentlemen," said the pursued, "I forgot to marry your sister." The marriage was immediately concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and the inconstant courtier appears to have ever after enjoyed a due share of domestic felicity and tranquillity. The chevalier returned with his wife to his native country, and Hamilton seems to have added to the attraction of early associations a desire to pay frequent visits to a country which contained a sister for whom he seems to have felt much affection. Hamilton and Grammont entertained for each other an esteem which was fostered and preserved by the similarity of their tastes and dispositions. A third person, differing in many respects from both, while he resembled them in his intellect, was the tasteful and unfortunate St Evremond, and many of the most superb wits of the brilliant court of Louis XIV. added the pleasures, though not always the advantages of their talents to the distinguished circle. Wit and intellect, however perverted, always meet the due homage of qualities which cannot be very much abused, and generally exercise themselves for the benefit of mankind; but unfortunately the fashion of the age prompted its best ornaments to seek amusement among the most degraded of the species, who were in a manner elevated by the approach which their superiors strove to make towards them, and these men could descend so far in the scale of humanity as to find pleasure even in the company of the notorious Blood. Anthony

Hamilton was naturally a favourite at the court of St Germain, and maintained a prominent figure in many of the gorgeous entertainments of the epicurean monarch. He is said to have performed a part in the celebrated ballet of the Triumph of Love. Being by birth and education a professed Roman catholic, Charles II., who befriended him as a courtier, dared not, and could not by the laws, bestow on him any ostensible situation as a statesman. His brother James, however, was less scrupulous, and under his short reign Hamilton found himself colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Limeric. Having enjoyed the fruits of the monarch's rashness, Hamilton faithfully bore his share of the consequences, and accompanied his exiled prince to St Germain, but he was no lover of solitude, seclusion, and the Jesuits, and took little pains to conceal his sense of the disadvantageous change which the palace had experienced since his previous residence within its walls. The company of the brilliant wits of France sometimes exhilarated his retirement, but the playful count frequently found that in the sombre residence of the exiled monarch, the talents which had astonished and delighted multitudes must be confined to his own solitary person, or discover some other method of displaying themselves to the world; and it is likely that we may date to the loyalty of the author, the production of one of the most interesting pictures of men and manners that was ever penned. All the works of count Anthony Hamilton were prepared during his exile, and it was then that he formed, of the life and character of his brother-in-law, a nucleus round which he span a vivid description of the manners of the day, and of the most distinguished persons of the English court. In the "Memoirs of Grammont," unlike Le Sage, Cervantes, and Fielding, the author paints the vices, follies, and weaknesses of men, not as a spectator, but as an actor, and he may be suspected of having added many kindred adventures of his own to those partly true and partly imagined of his hero. But the elasticity of a vivid and lively imagination, acute in the observation of frailties and follies, is prominent in his graphic descriptions; and no one who reads his cool pictures of vice and sophism can avoid the conviction that the author looked on the whole with the eye of a satirist, and had a mind fitted for better things—while at the same time the spirit of the age had accustomed his mind, in the words of La Harpe, *ne connoître d'autre vice que le ridicule*. The picture of the English court drawn by Hamilton is highly instructive as matter of history—it represents an aspect of society which may never recur, and the characters of many individuals whose talents and adventures are interesting to the student of human nature: nor will the interest of these sketches be diminished, when they are compared with the characters of the same individuals portrayed by the graver pencils of Hyde and Burnet. That the picture is fascinating with all its deformity, has been well objected to the narrative of the witty philosopher, but few who read the work in this certainly more proper and becoming age will find much inducement to follow the morals of its heroes; and those who wish a graver history of the times may refer to the Atalantis of Mrs Manley, where if the details are more unvarnished, they are neither so likely to gratify a well regulated taste, nor to leave the morals so slightly affected. The other works written by count Anthony Hamilton in his solitude were *Le Belier*, *Fleur d'épine*—*Les quatre Facurains et Teneyde*. Many persons accused him of extravagance in his *Eastern Tales*—a proof that his refined wit had not allowed him to indulge sufficiently in real English grotesqueness, when he wished to caricature the French out of a ravenous appetite for the wonders of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Count Anthony Hamilton died at St Germain in 1720, in his 64th year, and on his death-bed exhibited feelings of religion, which Voltaire and others have taken pains to exhibit as inconsistent with his professions and the



conduct of his life. His works have been highly esteemed in France, and whether from an amalgamation of the feelings of the two nations, or its intrinsic merits, Englishmen have professed to find in one of them the best picture of the habits and feelings of that brilliant and versatile nation. Grammont himself is maintained by St Simon, to have been active in bringing before the world the work in which his own probity is so prominently described, and to have appealed to the chancellor against the decision of Fontenelle, who as censor of the work considered it a very improper attack on so eminent a person as the count de Grammont. The first complete collection of Hamilton's works was published in six vols. 12mo, along with his correspondence, in 1749. A fine impression of Grammont was prepared by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1772, in 4to, with notes and portraits—a rare edition, less tastefully republished in 1783. In 1792, Edwards published a quarto edition, with correct notes, numerous portraits, and an English translation, which has been twice republished. Two fine editions of the author's whole works were published at Paris, 1812, four vols. 8vo, and 1813, five vols. 18mo, accompanied with an extract from a translation into French, of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, by the count, said still to exist in manuscript.

HAMILTON, GAVIN, a distinguished painter, was descended from the ancient family of the Hamiltons of Murdieston, originally of Fife, but latterly of Lanarkshire; and he was born in the town of Lanark. From a very early period of his life, he entertained a strong love for historic painting. It cannot be traced with any degree of certainty under what master he first studied in his native country, as there was no fixed school of painting established in Britain at the time, but being sent to Rome while yet very young, he became a scholar of the celebrated Augustine Mossuchi. On his return to Scotland after many years' absence, his friends wished him to apply himself to portrait-painting, but having imbibed in Italy higher ideas of the art, after a few successful attempts, he abandoned that line and attached himself entirely to historic composition. Few of his portraits are to be found in Britain, and of these two full lengths of the duke and duchess of Hamilton are considered the best. The figure of the duchess with a greyhound leaping upon her is well known by the mezzotinto prints taken from it, to be found in almost every good collector's hands. There is said to be another unfinished portrait of the same duchess by him, in which the then duke of Hamilton thought the likeness so very striking, that he took it from the painter, and would never allow it to be finished, lest the resemblance should be lost. He remained but a few months in his native country, and returned to Rome, where he resided for the principal part of his life. From the advantages of a liberal education, being perfectly familiar with the works of the great masters of Grecian and Roman literature, he displayed a highly classic taste in the choice of his subjects; and the style at which he always and successfully aimed, made him at least equal to his most celebrated contemporaries. The most capital collection of Mr Hamilton's paintings that can be seen in any one place, was, and if we mistake not is at present, in a saloon in the villa Borghese, which was wholly painted by him, and represents in different compartments the story of Paris. These were painted on the ceiling, and other scenes form a series of pictures round the alcove on a smaller scale. This work, though its position be not what an artist would choose as the most advantageous for exhibiting his finest efforts, has long been accounted a performance of very high excellence. The prince Borghese, as if with a view to do honour to Scottish artists, had the adjoining apartment painted by Jacob More, who excelled as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting. He had another saloon in the same palace painted by Mengs, the most celebrated German artist, and

these three apartments were conceived to exhibit the finest specimens of modern painting then to be found in Italy.

In his historical pictures, some of which have come to Britain, Mr Hamilton plainly discovers that he studied the chaste models of antiquity with more attention than the living figures around him; which has given his paintings of ancient histories that propriety with regard to costume, which distinguished them at the time from most modern compositions.

One of his greatest works was his *Homer*, consisting of a series of pictures, representing scenes taken from the *Iliad*; these have been dispersed into various parts of Europe, and can now only be seen in one continued series in the excellent engravings made of them by Cunego, under the eye of Mr Hamilton himself. Several of these paintings came to Britain, but only three reached Scotland. One of these, the parting of Hector and Andromache, was in the possession of the duke of Hamilton. Another represents the death of Lucretia, in the collection of the earl of Hopetoun, and was deemed by all judges as a capital performance. The third was in the house of a Mrs Scott, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It represents Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy.—A sublime picture, which if not the *chef d'œuvre* of Mr Hamilton, would alone have been sufficient to have transmitted his name to posterity as one of the greatest artists, was painted for the duke of Bedford, and had been in his possession some time before the unfortunate accident which deprived him of his son the marquis of Tavistock, whose disastrous fate had some resemblance to the story of the picture, being thrown from his horse and dragged to death, his foot having stuck in the stirrup; none of the family could bear to look on the picture, and it was ordered to be put away. General Scott became the purchaser of it at a very moderate price. The figure of Achilles in this picture is painted with surprising characteristic justness, spirit, and fire, and might stand the test of the severest criticism. It was in the grand and terrible Mr Hamilton chiefly excelled. His female characters had more of the dignity of Juno, or the coldness of Diana, than the soft inviting playfulness of the goddess of love.

He published at Rome in 1773 a folio volume, entitled "*Schola Picturæ Italianæ*," or the "*Italian School of Painting*," composed of a number of fine engravings by Cunego, making part of the collection of Piranesi; he there traces the different styles from Leonardi da Vinci, to the Carracci; all the drawings were made by Mr Hamilton himself, and this admirable collection now forms one of the principal treasures in the first libraries in Europe. All his best pictures were likewise engraved under his own eye by artists of the first ability, so that the world at large has been enabled to form a judgment of the style and merit of his works. In reference to the original pictures from whence the engravings were taken, many contradictory opinions have been expressed; some have considered his figures as wanting in the characteristic purity and correctness of form so strictly observed in the antique—others have said he was no colourist, though that was a point of his art after which he was most solicitous. But setting all contending opinions apart, had Mr Hamilton never painted a picture, the service he otherwise rendered to the fine arts would be sufficient to exalt his name in the eyes of posterity. From being profoundly acquainted with the history of the ancient state of Italy, he was enabled to bring to light many of the long buried treasures of antiquity, and to this noble object he devoted almost the whole of the latter part of his life. He was permitted by the government of the Roman states to open scaves in various places; at Centumcellæ, Velletri, Ostia, and above all at Tivoli, among the ruins of Adrian's villa; and it must be owned, that the success which crowned his researches made ample

amends for the loss which painting may have suffered by the intermission of his practice and example. Many of the first collections in Germany and Russia are enriched by statues, busts, and bas-reliefs of his discovery.

In the collection of the Museo Clementino, next to the treasures of Belvidere, the contributions of Hamilton were by far the most important. The Apollo, with six of the nine muses, were all of his finding. At the ruins of ancient Gabii (celebrated by Virgil in his sixth book of the *Æneid*, and by Horace, epistle xi. b. 1.) he was also very fortunate, particularly in the discovery of a Diana, a Germanicus, a Pan, and several rich columns of verd antique, and marmo fiortio. The paintings in fresco, preserved also by his great care and research, are admitted to surpass all others found in Italy.

He visited Scotland several times in the decline of his life, and had serious thoughts of settling altogether in Lanark, where he at one time gave orders for a painting-room to be built for him; but finding the climate unsuitable to his constitution, he abandoned the idea and returned to Rome, where he died, according to Bryan's account in his *History of Painting*, about 1775 or 1776.

All accounts of this artist agree in stating, that however exalted his genius might be, it was far surpassed by the benevolence and liberality of his character.

HAMILTON, Patrick, one of the first martyrs to the doctrines of the reformed religion, was born about the year 1503. He was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother; and was besides related to king James V. of Scotland. And by this illustrious connexion there stands forth another proof of the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, that the first reformers were generally men of inferior birth. He was early educated for the church, with high views of preferment from his powerful connexions, and in order that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed by any cares for his present subsistence, had the abbacy of Ferme bestowed upon him. While yet but a very young man, he travelled into Germany, with the view of completing those studies which he had begun at home, and to which he had applied himself with great assiduity. Attracted by the fame of the university of Wirtemberg, he repaired thither, and after remaining some time, removed to that of Marpurg, where he was the first who introduced public disputations on theological questions. Here he formed an intimacy with the celebrated reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, who finding in Hamilton an apt scholar, and one already celebrated for superior talent, soon and successfully instructed him in the new views of religion which they themselves entertained. His rapid progress in these studies delighted his instructors, and not only they themselves but all who were of their way of thinking, soon perceived that in their young pupil they had found one who would make a distinguished figure in propagating the new faith; and accordingly he became an object of great and peculiar interest to all the disciples of Luther and Melancthon, who waited with much anxiety to see what part the youthful reformer would take in the hazardous and mighty enterprise of at once overthrowing the church of Rome and establishing that of the true religion; a task which not only required talents of the highest order to combat the learned men who were of the opposite faith, but also the most determined courage to face the dangers which were certain to accompany their hostility. In the meantime, Hamilton had come to the resolution of beginning his perilous career in his native country, and with this view returned to Scotland, being yet little more than twenty-three years of age. The gallant young soldier of the true church had no sooner arrived, than, although he knew it was at the hazard of his life, for Huss and Jerome in Germany, and Reaby and Craw in Scotland, had already perished by the flames for holding tenets opposed to those of Rome—he began publicly to

expose the corruptions of the Romish church, and to point out the errors which had crept into its religion as professed in Scotland. Hamilton's gentle demeanour and powerful eloquence soon procured him many followers, and these were every day increasing in number. The Romish ecclesiastics became alarmed at this progress of heresy, and determined to put an immediate stop to it. Not choosing, however, at first to proceed openly against him, Beaton, then archbishop of St Andrews, under pretence of desiring a friendly conference with him on religious matters, invited him to that city, then the head-quarters of the Romish church in Scotland. Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton repaired to St Andrews. All that Beaton desired was now attained; the young reformer was within his grasp. One Campbell, a prior of the black friars, was employed to confer with him, and to ascertain what his doctrines really were. This duty Campbell performed by means of the most profound treachery. He affected to be persuaded by Hamilton's reasoning, acknowledged that his objections against the Romish religion were well founded, and, in short, seemed a convert to the doctrines of his unsuspecting victim; and thus obtained from him acknowledgments of opinions which brought him immediately under the power of the church. Campbell having from time to time reported the conversations which took place, Hamilton was at length apprehended in the middle of the night, and thrown into prison. On the day after, he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, charged with entertaining sundry heretical opinions, Campbell being his accuser, and as a matter of course being found guilty, was sentenced to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and furthermore, to be delivered over to the secular arm for corporeal punishment, a result which soon followed. On the afternoon of the same day he was hurried to the stake, lest the king should interfere in his behalf. A quantity of timber, coals, and other combustibles having been collected into a pile in the area before the gate of St Salvator's college, the young martyr was bound to a stake in the middle of it. A train of powder had been laid to kindle the fire, but the effect of its explosion was only to add to the victim's sufferings, for it failed to ignite the pile, but scorched his face and hands severely. In this dreadful situation he remained, praying fervently the while, and maintaining his faith with unshaken fortitude, until more powder was brought from the castle. The fire was now kindled, and the intrepid sufferer perished, recommending his soul to his God, and calling upon him to dispel the darkness which overshadowed the land.

The infamous and most active agent in his destruction, Campbell, was soon after Hamilton's death, seized with a remorse of conscience for the part he had acted in bringing about that tragedy, which drove him to distraction, and he died a year after, under the most dreadful apprehensions of eternal wrath.

HAMILTON, ROSEAR, LL.D., a mathematician and political economist, was born in June, 1743. He was the eighth son of Gavin Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, whose father was at one time professor of divinity in, and afterwards principal of, the university of Edinburgh. In the life of a retired and unobtrusive student, who has hardly ever left his books to engage even in the little warfares of literary controversy, there is seldom much to attract the attention of the ordinary reader: but when perusing the annals of one of the most feverish periods of the history of the world, posterity may show a wish to know something about the man who discovered the fallacy of the cele-

<sup>1</sup> Gavin Hamilton, executed an ingenious and accurate model of Edinburgh, which cost him some years' labour, and was exhibited in a room in the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754; after his death it was neglected and broken up for firewood. It represented a scheme for an access to the High Street, by a sloping road from the West Church; precisely the idea subsequently acted upon in the improvement of the city.

brated sinking fund, and checked a nation in the career of extravagance, by displaying to it, in characters not to be mistaken, the unpalliated truth of its situation. Holding this in mind, we will be excused for giving to the world some minutiae of this remarkable man, whom neither the events of his life in general, nor his connexion with the literary history of the age, would have rendered an object of much biographical interest. Like many men who have signalized themselves for the originality or abstractness of their views, Hamilton in his early years suffered much from constitutional debility, an affliction from which his many after years were signally exempt, till his last illness, his only complaint being a frequent recurrence of lumbago, which gave him a characteristic stoop in walking. He is described as having shown, in the progress of his education, an appetite for almost every description of knowledge, and to have added to the species of information for which he has been celebrated, a minute acquaintance with classical and general philosophical subjects: a respected friend, long belonging to the circle of Hamilton's literary acquaintance, has described his mind as having less quickness in sudden apprehension of his subject, than power in grappling with all its bearings, and comprehending it thoroughly after it had been sometime submitted to his comprehension; it was exactly of that steady, strong, and trust-worthy order, on which teachers of sense and zeal love to bestow their labour. He was, in consequence, a general favourite with his instructors, and more especially with the celebrated Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, who looked on the progress and prospects of his future scholar with pride and friendly satisfaction. The partiality of Mr Hamilton for a literary life he was compelled to yield to circumstances, which rendered it expedient that he should spend some time in the banking establishment of Messrs William Hogg & Son, as a preparatory introduction to a commercial or banking profession; a method of spending his time, less to be regretted than it might have been in the case of most other literary men, as, if it did not give him the first introduction to the species of speculation in which he afterwards indulged, it must have early provided him with that practical information on the general money system of the country, which his works so strikingly exhibit. Soon after this, Mr Hamilton began to form the literary acquaintance of young men of his own standing and pursuits, some of whom gathered themselves into that knot of confidential literary communication, which afterwards expanded into a nursery of orators, statesmen, and philosophers, of the highest grade, now well known by the name of the Speculative Society. The manner in which the young political economist became acquainted with lord Kaimes, has something in it of the simplicity of that literary free masonry, which generally forms a chain of friendly intercourse between the celebrated men of any particular period, and those who are just rising to replace them in the regard and admiration of the world. His lordship's attention having been attracted by the views on one of his own works, expressed in a criticism which had been anonymously supplied by Mr Hamilton, to one of the periodicals of the day—he conveyed through the same paper a wish that the author of the critique, if already known, might become better known to him, and if a stranger, would communicate to him the pleasure of his acquaintance. The diffident critic was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the flattering offer; the elegant judge expressed considerable surprise at the youth of the writer, when compared with the justness and profundity of his views, and communicated to him by a general invitation to his house, the advantages of an intercourse with his refined and gifted circle of visitors. In 1766, Mr Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, was prevailed on by his friends to offer himself as a candidate for the mathematical chair of Marischal college in Aberdeen, then va-

cant by the death of Mr Stewart, and though unsuccessful, the appointment being in favour of Mr Trail, he left behind him a very high sense of his abilities in the minds of the judges of the competition, one of whom, in a letter to Dr Gregory, states, that "he discovered a remarkable genius for mathematics, and a justness of apprehension and perspicuity, that is rarely to be met with."—"He is," continues the same individual, "an excellent demonstrator; always planned out his demonstration with judgment, and apprised his audience where the stress lay, so that he brought it to a conclusion in a most perspicuous manner, and in such a way that no person of common understanding could miss it." After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire a situation more congenial to his pursuits, Mr Hamilton became a partner in the conducting of a paper mill, which had been established by his father—a concern which, in 1769, he relinquished to the care of a manager, on his appointment to the rectorship of the academy at Perth. In 1771 he married Miss Anne Mitchell of Ladath, whom he had the misfortune of losing seven years afterwards. In 1779, the chair of natural philosophy in Marischal college, in the gift of the crown, was presented to Dr Hamilton. From this chair Dr Copland,—a gentleman whose high scientific knowledge and private worth rendered him, to all who had the means of knowing his attainments, (of which he has unfortunately left behind him no specimen,) as highly respected for his knowledge of natural philosophy and history, as his colleague was for that of the studies he more particularly followed,—had been removed to the mathematical chair in the same university. The natural inclination and studies of each, led him to prefer the situation of the other to his own, and after teaching the natural philosophy class for one year, Dr Hamilton effected an exchange with his colleague, satisfactory to both. He was not, however, formally presented to the mathematical chair till several years afterwards. A short time previously to the period of his life we are now discussing, Dr Hamilton had commenced the series of useful works which have so deservedly raised his name. In 1777, appeared the practical work, so well known by the name of "Hamilton's Merchandise;"—he published in 1790, a short essay on Peace and War, full of those benevolent doctrines, which even a civilized age so seldom opposes to the progress of licensed destruction. In 1796, Dr Hamilton published his Arithmetic, a work which has been frequently reprinted,—and in 1800, another work of a similar elementary description, called "Heads of a Course of Mathematics," intended for the use of his own students: but the great works so generally attached to his name, did not appear till he had passed his seventieth year. The "Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State of the National Debt of Great Britain," was published at Edinburgh in 1813—it created in every quarter, except that which might have best profited by the warning voice, a sudden consciousness of the folly of the system under which the national income was in many respects conducted, but it was not till his discoveries had made their silent progress through the medium of public opinion, that they began gradually to affect the measures of the government. The principal part of this inquiry, is devoted to the consideration of the measures which have at different periods been adopted for attempting the reduction of the national debt. The earliest attempt at a sinking fund was made in the year 1716, under the auspices of Sir Robert Walpole, a measure of which that acute minister may not improbably have seen the ineffectuality, as in the year 1733, he applied five millions of the then sinking fund to the public exigencies; the principal always nominally existed, although it was not maintained with constant regularity and zeal, until the year 1786, when the celebrated sinking fund of Mr Pitt was formed, by the disposal of part of the income of the nation to commissioners for the redemption of the debt, a mea-

sure which was modified in 1792, by the assignment of one per cent annually, on the nominal capital of each loan contracted during the war, as a sinking fund appropriated for the redemption of the particular loan to which it was attached. It underwent several other modifications, particularly in 1802 and 1807. The great prophet and propounder of this system, the celebrated Dr Price, unfolded his views on the subject, in his treatise "Of Reversionary Annuities," published in 1771. It is a general opinion, that an application to studies strictly numerical, will abstract the mind from the prejudice and enthusiasm of theory. Dr Price has proved the fallacy of such a principle, by supporting his tables of calculations, with all the virulence and impatience of a vindicator of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*, or of the honour of queen Mary. Dr Price has given as a glowing example of his theory, the often repeated instance of the state of a penny set aside and allowed to accumulate from the time of Christ:—if allowed to remain at compound interest, it will accumulate to, we forget exactly how many million globes of gold, each the size of our own earth—if it accumulate at simple interest, the golden vision shrinks to the compass of a few shillings—and if not put out at interest at all, it will continue throughout all ages the pitiful penny it was at the commencement. The application of the principle to an easy and cheap method of liquidating the national debt, was so obvious to Dr Price, that he treated the comparative coldness with which his advice was received, as a man who considered that his neighbours are deficient in comprehending the first rules of arithmetic; and it certainly is a singular instance of the indolence of the national mind, and the readiness with which government grasped at any illusive theory, which showed a healing alternative to the extravagance of its measures, that no one appeared to propose the converse of the simile, and to remind the visionary financier, that in applying it to national borrowing, the borrower, by allowing one of the pennies he has borrowed to accumulate in his favour at compound interest, is in just the same situation as if he had deducted the penny from the sum he borrowed, and thus prevented the penny and its compound interest from accumulating against him. The practical results of Dr Price's theories were, the proposal of a plan, by which a nation might borrow at simple interest, and accumulate at compound interest a fund for its repayment: boldly pushing his theory to its extremities, and maintaining that it is better to borrow at high than at low interest, because the debt will be more speedily repaid; and as a corollary, that a sinking fund during war is more efficient than at any other time, and that to terminate it *then*, is "the madness of giving it a mortal blow." The supposition maintained by Dr Hamilton, in opposition to these golden visions of eternal borrowing for the purpose of increasing national riches, did not require the aid of much rhetoric for its support—it is, that if a person borrows money, and assigns a part of it to accumulate at compound interest for the repayment of the whole, he is just in the same situation as if he had deducted that part from his loan—and hence the general scope of his argument goes to prove the utter uselessness of a borrowed sinking fund, and the fallacy of continuing its operation during war, or when the expenditure of the nation overbalances the income. The absurdity of setting aside a portion of the sum borrowed for this purpose, (and generally borrowed at more disadvantageous terms as the loan is to any degree increased,) was partially prevented by a suggestion of Mr Fox; but the sinking fund was strictly a borrowed one, in as far as money was laid aside for it, while the nation was obliged to borrow for the support of its expenditure. The evil of the system is found by Dr Hamilton to consist, not only in the fallacy it imposes on the public, but in its positive loss of resources. The loans are raised at a rate more disadvantageous to the borrower than that at which the creditor afterwards

receives payment of them, and the management of the system is expensive; if a man who is in debt borrows merely for the purpose of paying his debt, and transacts the business himself, he merely exposes himself to more trouble than he would have encountered by continuing debtor to his former creditor; if he employ an agent to transact the business, he is a loser by the amount of fees paid to that agent. These truths Dr Hamilton is not content with proving argumentatively—he has coupled them with a minute history of the various financial proceedings of the country, and tables of practical calculation, giving, on the one hand, historical information; and, on the other, showing the exact sums which the government has at different periods misapplied. Along with Mr Pitt's system of finance, he has given an account of that of lord Henry Petty, established in 1807; a complicated scheme, the operation of which seems not to have been perceived by its inventor, and which, had it continued for any length of time, might have produced effects more ruinous than those of any system which has been devised. The summary of his proofs and discussions on the subject, as expressed in his own words, is not very flattering to the principle which has been in general followed: "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which the public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which a sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt, by sinking funds, operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory." But it cannot be said that Dr Hamilton has looked with a feeling of anything resembling enmity on the object of his attack; he has allowed the sinking fund all that its chief supporters now pretend to arrogate to it, although the admission comes more in the form of palliation than of approbation. "If the nation," he says, "impressed with a conviction of the importance of a system established by a popular minister, has, in order to adhere to it, adopted measures, either of frugality in expenditure, or exertion in raising taxes, which it would not otherwise have done, the sinking fund ought not to be considered inefficient: and its effects may be of great importance."—"The sinking fund," says an illustrious commentator on Dr Hamilton's work, in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, following up the same train of reasoning, "is therefore useful as an engine of taxation;" and now that the glorious vision of the great financial dreamer has vanished, and left nothing behind it but the operation of the ordinary dull machinery, by which debts are paid off through industry and economy, one can hardly suppose that the great minister who set the engine in motion, was himself ignorant (however much he might have chosen others to remain so) of its real powerlessness. The discovery made by Dr Hamilton was one of those few triumphant achievements, which, founded on the indisputable ground of practical calculation, can never be controverted or doubted: and although a few individuals, from a love of system, while apparently admitting the truths demonstrated by Dr Hamilton, in attempting to vindicate the system on separate grounds, have fallen, *mutato nomine*, into the same fallacy,<sup>1</sup> the Edinburgh reviewers, Ricardo, Say, and all the eminent political economists of the age, have supported his doctrine; while the venerable lord Grenville—a member of the administration which devised the sinking fund, and for some time first lord of the treasury—has, in a pamphlet which affords a striking and noble specimen of political candour, admitted that the treatise of Dr Hamilton opened his eyes to the fallacy of his once favourite measure.

A year after the publication of this great work, the laborious services of the

<sup>1</sup> Vide "A Letter to lord Grenville on the sinking fund, by Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq., M. P., London, 1828."



venerable philosopher were considered as well entitling him to leave the laborious duties of his three mathematical classes to the care of an assistant, who was at the same time appointed his future successor. The person chosen was Mr John Cruickshank, a gentleman who, whether or not he proved fruitful in the talents which distinguished his predecessor, must be allowed to have been more successful in preserving the discipline of his class, a task for which the absent habits of Dr Hamilton rendered him rather unfit. In 1825, Dr Hamilton's declining years were saddened by the death of his second wife, a daughter of Mr Morison of Elsieck, whom he had married in 1782; and on the 14th day of July, 1829, he died in the bosom of his family, and in that retirement which his unobtrusive mind always courted, and which he had never for any considerable period relinquished. Dr Hamilton left three daughters, of whom the second was married to the late Mr Thomson of Banchory, in Kincardineshire, and the youngest to the Rev. Robert Swan of Abercrombie, in Fife. He had no family by his second wife. Several essays were found among Dr Hamilton's papers, which were published by his friends in 1830, under the title of "The Progress of Society;" and although the majority of them contain very deep and abstruse remarks well worthy of attention, there are others which may, perhaps, be said to contain too many of the general principles of which the earlier metaphysicians of Scotland were very fond, and too little of the close and practical reasoning which generally distinguishes their author's mind, to be such as he might have thought fit to have given to the world in their present state. The commercial policy argued by Dr Hamilton in these tracts, is the system which was first inculcated by Dr Adam Smith in 1776, and which, after the lapse of seventy years, was embodied in the great and beneficent free-trade measure of Sir Robert Peel, under the operation of which the nation is developing its resources of trade and manufacture with fresh energy, and all ranks of the community, but more especially the working-classes, enjoy an unexampled degree of prosperity. It is to be hoped that the successful experiment of Great Britain will encourage the other nations, both of the old and new world, to follow so wise and salutary an example, and reciprocate the advantages which they also have derived from it. Dr Hamilton held a peculiar view on the subject of a metallic currency, believing its value to arise, not from its worth as a commodity, but chiefly from its use as an instrument of exchange. This opinion he maintained with great power and plausibility.

The Essays on Rent, and the consequent theory of the incidence of tithes, argued with a modesty which such an author need hardly have adopted, are well worthy the consideration of those who have turned their attention to these abstruse subjects. The author appears to doubt the theory discovered by Dr Anderson, and followed up by Sir Edward West, Malthus, Ricardo, and M'Culloch, which discovers rent to be the surplus of the value of the produce of more fruitful lands of a country, over the produce of the most sterile soil, which the demands of the community requires to be taken into cultivation. "What," says our author, in answer to the assumption of Dr Anderson, "would happen if all the land in an appropriated country were of equal fertility? It would hardly be affirmed that, in that case, all rent would cease." To this the following answer might be made—Were the population insufficient to consume the whole produce of rich fertile land, (which could not long be the case,) certainly there would be no rent. Were the consumption equal to or beyond the produce, the rent would be regulated thus:—If foreign corn could be introduced at a price as low as that at which it could be raised, there would still be no rent—if, either from the state of cultivation of other countries, or the imposition of a duty, corn could only be imported at a price beyond that at which it can

be grown, rent would be demanded to such an extent as to raise the price of the home produce to a par with the imported—in the former case the rent being the natural consequence of commerce, in the latter the creature of legislation. The principle maintained by Dr Anderson would here exactly apply, the higher price of importing corn to that of producing it at home, being a parallel to the higher cost of raising produce in sterile than in fruitful soils. But this intricate subject, unsuited to the present work, we gladly relinquish, more especially as the discussion of our author's ideas on this topic has fallen into other and abler hands. In these Essays we think we can perceive here and there traits of that simplicity and abstraction from the routine of the world, which was on some occasions a characteristic of their author. Men who mingle unobserved with the rest of their species, may be well versant in the lighter and more historical portions of the philosophy of mind and matter; but the illustrious examples of Newton, Locke, Smith, and many others, have shown us, that the limitation of the human faculties calls to the aid of the more abstruse branches of science, a partial, if not total abstraction from all other subjects, for definite periods. Dr Hamilton was remarkable for his absence; not that he mingled subjects with each other, and mistook what he was thinking about, the error of a weak mind, but he was frequently engaged in his mathematical studies, when other persons were differently employed. As with other absent men, numberless are the anecdotes which are preserved of his abstractions—many of them doubtless unfounded, while at the same time it must be allowed, that he frequently afforded amusement to inferior wits. He possessed a singular diffidence of manner, which in a less remarkable man might have been looked upon as humility. Taking advantage of this feeling, and of his frequent abstractions, his class gave him perpetual annoyance, and in the latter days of his tuition, the spirit of mischief and trickery, natural when it can be followed up in classes the greater portion of which consisted of mere boys, created scenes of perfect anarchy and juvenile mischief. The author of this memoir recollects distinctly his stooping shadowy figure as he glided through the rest of his colleagues in the university, with his good-humoured small round face, and his minute but keenly twinkling eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles, having in his manner so little of that pedagogical importance so apt to distinguish the teachers of youth, especially in spots where the assumption of scientific knowledge is not held in curb, by intercourse with an extensive body of men of learning. It is not by any means to be presumed, however, that the subject of our memoir, though retired, and occasionally abstracted in his habits, excluded himself from his due share in the business of the world. He led a generally active life. He maintained a correspondence with various British statesmen on important subjects, and with Say and Fahrenberg, the latter of whom requested permission to translate the work on the national debt into German. He frequently represented his college in the General Assembly. On the bursary funds of the university, and on the decision of a very important prize intrusted to him and his colleagues, he bestowed much time and attention; and he gave assistance in the management of the clergymen's widows' fund of Scotland, and in plans for the maintenance of the poor of Aberdeen.

It was once proposed among some influential inhabitants of Aberdeen, that a public monument should be erected to the memory of this, one of the most eminent of its citizens. Strangers have remarked, not much to the credit of that flourishing town, that while it has produced many great men, few have been so fortunate as to procure from its citizens any mark of posthumous respect. We sincerely hope the project may not be deserted, and that such a testimony of respect will yet appear, to a man on whom the city of Aberdeen

may with more propriety bestow such an honour than on any stranger, however illustrious.

HAMILTON, James, third marquis, and first duke of Hamilton, was born in the palace at Hamilton, on the 19th of June, 1606. His father, James, marquis of Hamilton, was held in high favour by James I., who, amongst other honours which he bestowed on him, created him earl of Cambridge, a title which was at an after period a fatal one to the unfortunate nobleman who is the subject of this memoir.

Before the marquis had attained his fourteenth year, his father, who was then at St James's court, sent for him for the purpose of betrothing him to the lady Margaret Fielding, daughter to the earl of Denbigh, and niece of the duke of Buckingham, and then only in the seventh year of her age. After this ceremony had taken place, the marquis was sent to Oxford, to complete those studies which he had begun in Scotland, but which had been seriously interrupted by his coming to court. He succeeded his father as marquis of Hamilton, March 2, 1625, while as yet considerably under age.

An early and fond intimacy seems to have taken place between prince Charles and the marquis. That it was sincere and abiding on the part of the latter, the whole tenor of his life and his melancholy and tragical death bear testimony. On Charles succeeding to the throne, one of his first cares was to mark the esteem in which he held his young and noble friend, by heaping upon him favours and distinctions.

Soon after the coronation of the king, however, in which ceremony he carried the sword of state in the procession, he returned to Scotland for the purpose of superintending in person his family affairs, which had been much deranged by the munificence of his father. The marquis, who does not seem to have ever been much captivated by the life of a courtier, soon became warmly attached to the quiet and retirement of the country, and spent the greater part of his time at Brodick castle, a beautiful and romantic residence in the island of Arran.

The king, however, whose attachment to him seems to have gained strength by his absence, wrote to him repeatedly, and with his own hand, in the most pressing terms, to return. All these flattering invitations he for some time resisted, until his father-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, came expressly to Scotland with another earnest request from the king that he would come up to London, and at the same time, offering him the appointment of master of the horse, then vacant by the death of the duke of Buckingham.

Unable longer to resist the entreaties of his sovereign, now seconded by the earl, the marquis complied, and proceeded with his father-in-law to court, where he arrived in the year 1628. The promised appointment was immediately bestowed on him; and in the fullness of his majesty's happiness at his young friend's return, he further made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and privy councillor in both kingdoms. The amiable and unassuming manners of the marquis saved him at this part of his career from all that hostility and jealousy which usually attend the favourite of a sovereign, and he was permitted to receive and enjoy all his offices and honours without a grudge, and without the cost of creating an enemy.

At the baptism of prince Charles in 1630, he represented the king of Bohemia as one of the sponsors, and on this occasion the order of the garter was conferred upon him, together with a grant of the office of chief steward of the house and manor of Hampton court. A more active life, however, was now about to open upon the favourite courtier. King Charles, having in the duke's name entered into a treaty with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king

of Sweden, to furnish him with 6000 men for his intended invasion of Germany, with the view of thus enabling his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, to regain his hereditary territories from which he had been driven, the marquis was empowered to raise the stipulated force. These he soon collected, and was on the point of embarking with them himself, when he found that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him by lord Ochiltree, son of that captain James Stewart who had usurped the Hamilton estates and dignities in the time of his grandfather. The king himself was the first to inform the duke of the absurd charge which had been brought against him, and which consisted in the ridiculous assertion, that the marquis intended, in place of proceeding to Germany with the forces he had raised, to employ them in asserting a right to the Scottish crown. Although, in the face of all existing circumstances, it was impossible that any one could be expected to believe that there was any truth in the accusation, yet the marquis insisted that his innocence should be established by a public trial. To this proposal, however, the king not only would not listen, but to show his utter incredulity in the calumny, and his confidence in the marquis's fidelity, he invited him to sleep in the same bed-chamber with him, on the very night on which he had informed him of the charge brought against him by lord Ochiltree. The forgeries of the latter in support of his accusation having been proven, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and thrown into the castle of Blackness, where he remained a captive for twenty years, when he was liberated by one of Cromwell's officers.

On the 16th of July the marquis sailed from Yarmouth roads with his army and forty ships, and arrived in safety at Elsinour on the 27th of the same month. Here he went on shore to wait upon the king of Denmark, and on the 29th sailed again for the Oder, which he reached on the 30th. Here he landed his men, and having previously received a general's commission from the king of Sweden, marched into Silesia, where he performed many important services, took many fortified places, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his bravery and judicious conduct. After various turns of fortune, however, and much severe service, during which his army was reduced by the casualties of war, and by the plague, which swept off great numbers of his men, to two incomplete regiments; and, moreover, conceiving himself slighted by the king of Sweden, who, flushed with his successes, forgot that respect towards him with which he had first received him; he wrote to the king, requesting his advice as to his future proceedings, and not neglecting to express the disgust with which Gustavus's ungracious conduct had inspired him. Charles immediately replied "that if he could not be serviceable to the Palatinate he should take the first civil excuse to come home." This he soon afterwards did, still parting, however, on good terms with the Swedish king, who expressed his esteem for him by saying at his departure, "in whatever part of the world he were, he would ever look upon him as one of his own." There seems to have been a sort of understanding that the marquis would return to Germany with a new levy of men; but this understanding does not appear to have been very seriously entertained by either party; at all events it never took place. The marquis, on his return to the English court was received with unabated kindness, and again took his place amongst the foremost in the esteem of his sovereign.

In 1633, he accompanied the king to Scotland, when he came down to receive the crown of that kingdom; but from this period until the year 1638, he meddled no further with public affairs.

The troubles, however, of that memorable year again brought him on the stage, and his love for his sovereign, and zeal for his service, induced him to take a more busy and a more prominent part than he would otherwise

have done. To put an end, if possible, to the religious distractions in Scotland, and which were then coming to a crisis, the marquis was despatched to Scotland with instructions, and a power to grant further concessions on some important points. The demands of the covenanters were, however, greater than was expected, and this attempt at mediation was unsuccessful. He returned to London, and was a second time sent down to Scotland with enlarged powers, but as these embraced no concession regarding the covenant, this journey was equally fruitless with the other. The marquis now once more returned to London. In the beginning of winter, he was a third time despatched, with instructions to act as commissioner at the General Assembly, which had been appointed to meet for the settlement of differences, and which sat down at Glasgow in November. The concessions, however, which he was authorized to make, were not considered at all sufficient. The opponents of the court in the assembly proceeded from measure to measure inimical to the king's authority, carrying every thing before them in despite of all the marquis's efforts to resist them, and to stem the tide of disaffection. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the court. The covenanters, however, were in no humour to obey this exercise of authority. They continued their sittings, went on subscribing the covenant, and decreed the abrogation of bishops in the Scottish church. Having been able to render the king little more service than the gain of time which his negotiations had secured, the marquis returned to London. Indeed more success could not have been expected from an interference where the covenant, the principal subject of contention, was thus spoken of by the opposite parties: the king writing to his commissioner, "So long as this damnable covenant is in force, I have no more power in Scotland than a duke or Venice;" and the covenanters again replying to some overtures about its renunciation, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism." The king, who had long anticipated a violent issue with the Scottish malcontents, had in the meantime been actively employed in collecting a force to subdue them; and the marquis, soon after his arrival in England, was appointed to a command in this armament, and sent down to Scotland, no longer as a negotiator, but as a chastiser of rebels. Whilst the king himself proceeded over land with an army of 25,000 foot and 3000 horse, the marquis sailed from Yarmouth with a fleet, having on board a further force of 5000 men, and arrived in Leith roads on the 1st of May. On his arrival, he required the leaders of the covenanters to acknowledge the king's authority, and seemed disposed to proceed to hostilities. But the king, in the meantime, having entered into a pacific arrangement with the covenanters, his military command ceased, and he proceeded to join his majesty at his camp near Berwick. Soon after this, the marquis once more retired from public employment, and did not again interfere in national affairs for several years. In 1642, he was once more sent to Edinburgh by the king to promote his interest, and to resume negotiations with the covenanters; and on this occasion was so successful as to alarm Pickering, the agent of the English parliament at Edinburgh, who wrote to his employers, recommending them to bring him immediately to trial as a disturber of the harmony between the two kingdoms. This representation of Pickering's, however, was attended with no immediate result, whatever effect it might have on his ultimate fate; and it is not improbable that it was then recollected to his prejudice. As a reward for his faithful and zealous services, the king now bestowed upon him by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, the title of duke. The same patent invests him also with the title of marquis of Clydesdale, earl of Arran and Cambridge, and lord Avon and Innerdale. By one of those strange and sudden reverses, however, to which the favourites of kings are so subject, the duke was

thrown into prison by that very sovereign who but a short while since had loaded him with titles and honour.

Various misrepresentations of the duke's conduct in Scotland had reached the king's ears. He was charged with unfaithfulness to the trust reposed in him; of speaking disrespectfully of the king; and of still entertaining views upon the Scottish crown. These accusations, absurd, incredible, and contradictory to facts as they were, had been so often repeated, and so urgently pressed on the unfortunate and distracted monarch, that they at length shook his faith in his early friend. Deserted, opposed, and harassed upon all hands, he was prepared to believe in any instance of treachery that might occur, and clinging to every hope, however slender, which presented itself, was too apt to imagine that the accusation of others was a proof of friendship to himself on the part of the accuser.

The king's altered opinion regarding him having reached the ears of the duke, he instantly hastened, accompanied by his brother, the earl of Lanark, who was also involved in the accusation, to Oxford, where his majesty then was. Conscious of his innocence, the duke, on his arrival, sought an audience of the king, that he might, at a personal interview, disabuse him of the unfavourable reports which he had heard regarding him. An order, however, had been left at the gates to stop him until the governor should have notice of his arrival. Through a mistake of the captain of the guard, the carriage which contained the duke was allowed to pass unchallenged, but was immediately followed with a command directly from the king himself, that the duke and his brother should confine themselves to their apartments. This intimation of the king's disposition towards him was soon followed by still more unequivocal indications. Next day a guard was placed on his lodgings, with orders that no one should speak with him but in presence of one of the secretaries; and finally, notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, and earnest requests to be confronted with his accusers, he was sent a prisoner, first to Exeter, and afterwards to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. His brother, who had also been ordered into confinement in Ludlow castle, contrived to make his escape before his removal, and returned to Scotland; a circumstance which increased the severity with which the duke was treated. His servants were denied access to him, his money was taken from him; and he was refused the use of writing materials, unless to be employed in petitioning the king, a privilege which was still left to him, but which availed him little, as it did not procure him any indulgence in his confinement, or effect any change in the sentiments of the king regarding him. Whilst a prisoner in Pendennis castle, the duke's amiable and gentle manners so far won upon the governor of that fortress, that he not only gave him more liberty than his instructions warranted, but offered to allow him to escape. With a magnanimity, however, but rarely to be met with, the duke refused to avail himself of a kindness which would involve his generous keeper in ruin. The intimacy between the governor and the duke reaching the ears of the court, the latter was instantly removed to the castle of St Michael's Mount at Land's End, where he remained a close prisoner till the month of April, 1646, when he was released, after an unmerited confinement of eight and twenty months, on the surrender of the place to the parliamentary forces. Feeling now that disgust with the world, which the treatment he had met with was so well calculated to inspire, the duke resolved to retire from it for ever. From this resolution, however, his affection for the king, which, notwithstanding the hard usage he had received at his hands, remained as warm and sincere as ever, induced him once more to depart; and when that unhappy monarch, driven from England, sought protection from the Scottish army at Newcastle, the duke of

Hamilton was amongst the first to wait upon him there, with offers of assistance and consolation; and this at a time too, when he was abandoned by many on whom he had much better, or at least, more unqualified claims. When the king and the duke first met on this occasion, both blushed; and the latter in the confusion of the moment, after saluting his majesty, was about to retire into the crowd which filled the apartment, when the king asked him "If he was afraid to come near him." The duke returned, and a long and earnest conversation ensued between them. The king apologised for his treatment of him, and concluded by requesting that he would not now leave him in the midst of his distresses. The appeal was not made in vain. The duke once more embarked with all his former zeal in the cause of his beloved master, and made every effort to retrieve his desperate fortunes. These efforts were vain, but they have secured for him who made them a lasting and an honourable fame; and now that the conflicting opinions of the times in which he lived have long since been numbered with the things that were, we can recognise in the conduct of James, first duke of Hamilton, only a noble example of unshaken and devoted loyalty.

When the question, whether the king, now in the hands of the Scottish malcontents, should be delivered up to his English subjects, was discussed in the Scottish parliament, the duke exerted his utmost influence and power to prevent its being carried in the affirmative. "Would Scotland," he exclaimed, in an elegant and enthusiastic speech which he made on the occasion, "Would Scotland now quit a possession of fifteen hundred years' date, which was their interest in their sovereign, and quit it to those whose enmity against both him and themselves did now so visibly appear? Was this the effect of their protestations of duty and affection to his majesty? Was this their keeping of their covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty, person, and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his person to them? What censure would be passed upon this through the whole world? What a stain would it be to the whole reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended in consequence of it, both to the king's person and to Scotland from the party that was now prevalent in England." The duke's brother, the earl of Lanark, was not less earnest in his opposition to the disgraceful proposal, and when his vote was asked, he exclaimed with much energy, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would chuse rather to have my head struck off at the Market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." These generous efforts of the noble brothers, however, as is well known, were unavailing, the measure was carried, and the unfortunate monarch was delivered into the hands of the English parliament.

Defeated in his attempts to prevent the king's being given up to his English subjects; the duke, still hoping to avert the consummation of his unfortunate sovereign's misfortunes, now entertained the idea of relieving him by force of arms. Encouraged in this project by something like a re-action of public feeling in favour of the king, and, sanctioned by the vote of the estates, though not of the kirk of Scotland, he proceeded to raise an army with which he proposed to march into England, where he expected to meet with an active and powerful co-operation from the royalists of that kingdom. With these views, he hastily collected together a force of 10,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, and with this army, which, besides the inadequacy of its numbers, was indifferently appointed, ill disciplined, and unaccompanied by artillery, he marched into England. Passing Carlisle, where he was received with ringing of bells and other demonstrations of welcome, he continued his march by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, driving before him detached bodies of Cromwell's troops, and finally

reached Preston on the 17th of August, where he was opposed by Cromwell in person with his veteran battalions; and notwithstanding that the duke had been reinforced since he entered England, by 3000 to 4000 loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and afterwards by 2000 foot and 1000 horse, commanded by Sir George Munro, the result of various skirmishes which here took place, was the total defeat of his army. The duke himself, accompanied by a few officers and cavalry, proceeded on to Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where he surrendered to Lambert, on assurance of personal safety to himself and his followers. The unfortunate duke was now carried to Derby, thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouche, where he remained till December, when he was removed to Windsor, and placed under a strong guard. On the second night of his confinement here, while taking a turn after supper in the court-yard, a sergeant made up to him, and, with the utmost insolence of manner, ordered him to his apartment: the duke obeyed, but remarked to lord Bargeny, who was then a prisoner also, that what had just happened was a singular instance of the mutability of worldly things—that he who, but a short while since, had the command of many thousand men, was now commanded by a common sergeant.

A few days after the duke's arrival at Windsor, his ill-fated master, who was then also a prisoner there, was ordered for trials. Having learned when the king was to proceed to the tribunal, the duke prevailed upon his keepers to allow him to see his majesty as he passed. On the approach of the king, he threw himself at his feet, exclaiming in an agony of sorrow, his eyes suffused with tears, "My dear master!" The king, not less affected, stooped down and embraced him, replying, with a melancholy play upon the word *dear*, "I have indeed been so to you." The guards would permit no further conversation, but, by the order of their commander, instantly hurried off the king. The duke followed his beloved master, with his eyes still swimming in tears, so long as he could see him, impressed with the belief that they would never meet on earth again. Aware from the king's execution, which soon after took place, that a similar fate awaited him, the duke, with the assistance of a faithful servant, effected his escape from Windsor. Two horses waited at a convenient place to carry him and his servant to London, where he hoped to conceal himself until an opportunity occurred of getting to a place of greater safety; but he was instructed not on any account to enter the city till seven o'clock in the morning, when the night patrols, who prowled about the town and suburbs, should have retired from duty. By an unaccountable fatality, the unfortunate duke neglected to attend to this most important injunction, and entered the city at four o'clock in the morning. As if every thing had resolved to concur in the destruction of the unfortunate nobleman, besides the risk which he ran as a matter of course from the patrol, it happened that there was a party of horse and foot in Southwark, where the duke entered, searching for Sir Lewis Dives and another gentleman, who had also escaped from confinement the night before. By these the duke was taken while in the act of knocking at a door where he had been long seeking admittance. At first he imposed upon the soldiers by a plausible story, and as they did not know him personally, they were disposed to allow him to depart; but some suspicious circumstances attracting their notice, they searched him, and found in his pockets some papers which at once discovered him. He was now carried to St James's, where he was kept a close prisoner till the 6th February, 1648, when he was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice, and arraigned as earl of Cambridge, for having "traitorously invaded this nation (England) in a hostile manner, and levied war to assist the king against the kingdom and people of England, &c." The duke pled that he was an alien, and that his life besides was secured by the



articles of his capitulation to Lambert. To the first it was replied, that he always sat as a peer of England, and as such had taken the covenant and negative oath. With regard to the second objection, it was affirmed by two witnesses, lords Grey and Lilburn, that he was taken prisoner before the treaty was signed. After a lengthened trial, in which none of his objections availed him, the unfortunate nobleman was sentenced to be beheaded on the 9th of March. The whole tenor of the duke's conduct after sentence of death was passed upon him, evinced the greatest magnanimity and resignation. He wrote to his brother in favour of his servants, and on the morning before his execution, addressed a letter to his children, recommending them to the protection of their heavenly Father, now that they were about to be deprived of himself. He slept soundly on the night previous to his death, until half-past three in the morning, when he was attended by his faithful servant Cole, the person who had assisted him in his attempted escape. To him he now, with the utmost composure, gave a variety of directions to be carried to his brother. The remainder of the morning, up to nine o'clock, he spent in devotion. At this hour he was desired to prepare for the scaffold, which he soon after ascended with a smiling and cheerful countenance, attended by Dr Sibbald. After again spending some time in secret prayer, he arose, and embracing Dr Sibbald, said, laying his hand upon his heart, "I bless God I do not fear—I have an assurance that is grounded here;" he next embraced his servants severally, saying to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bless you."

Turning now to the executioner, he desired to know how he should place himself to receive the fatal stroke. Having been satisfied regarding this fearful particular, he told the executioner, that after he had placed himself in the necessary position, he would say a short prayer, and that he would extend his right hand as the signal for his doing his duty. He now stretched himself along, and placed his neck ready for the blow, prayed a short while with much appearance of fervour, then gave the fatal signal, and with one stroke his head was severed from his body.

The head of the unfortunate nobleman was received in a crimson taffeta scarf, by two of his servants, who knelt beside him for the purpose of performing this last act of duty for their kind master.

The duke's head and body were placed in a coffin which lay ready on the scaffold, and conveyed to a house in the Mews, and afterwards, agreeably to his own directions before his death, conveyed to Scotland, and interred in the family burying ground.

Thus perished James, duke of Hamilton, a nobleman whose fortitude at his death gives but little countenance to the charge of timidity which has been insinuated against him, and whose zeal for, and adherence to, the royal cause, in the most desperate and trying circumstances, afford less encouragement to the accusation of infidelity to his sovereign with which he has been also assailed.

HAMILTON, JAMES, fourth duke of Hamilton, was the eldest son of William, earl of Selkirk, and Anne, duchess of Hamilton. He was born in 1657, educated in Scotland, being by the courtesy of his country entitled earl of Arran, and after spending some time in foreign travel, repaired to the court of England, where he mixed in the gallantries of the time. As it was with a duel that his life closed, so a duel is the first remarkable circumstance to be noticed in the account of his youthful years. In consequence of a quarrel with lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough, he met that nobleman on foot in Greenwich park, with sword and pistol. Arran fired first, and missed; his antagonist discharged his ball in the air, but nevertheless insisted that the combat should proceed. They accordingly engaged with their swords, and Mordaunt having first

received a slight wound about the groin, pierced Arran's thigh, and broke his own sword. The earl had now in turn an opportunity to display his generosity, and sparing the life which was at his mercy, the two young noblemen parted good friends.

Arran enjoyed the favour of Charles II. who made him one of the knights of his bed-chamber, and sent him envoy extraordinary to the court of France, to offer congratulations on the birth of Philip, duke of Anjou, afterwards king of Spain. Whilst upon this embassy, he was one day hunting with the king, and taking offence at some part of the conduct of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who also rode in the company, he disregarded equally the profession of his opponent and the royal presence, and pulling the reverend gentleman from his horse, and grasping his sword, he was prevented from exacting a bloody vengeance only by the interposition of his majesty. The particulars of this affair are not related with that distinctness which would enable us to decide who was in the wrong; but the earl's contemporaries, provided they saw a display of spirit, did not often stop to inquire whether it were borne out by prudence; and accordingly, a writer of the time tells us his lordship came off upon this occasion, in the opinion of the world, "with high commendations of his courage and audacity."

When James II. ascended the throne, the earl of Arran suffered no diminution of court favour. Indeed he seems to have earned it by readily yielding to James's designs. He was one of the privy council who in 1687, signed the letter of the Scottish government, concurring with the proclamation to repeal the laws made against papists. In reward of his acquiescence, he was installed a knight of the thistle, when that order,—which, according to the king's party, was instituted about the year of our Lord 809, by Achatus, king of Scots, and never disused till the intestine troubles, which happened in the reign of Mary,—was "restored to its full lustre, glory, and magnificence." The writers, whose politics were different, maintain that, however honourable this badge might be, it was never worn as such before. Burnet says it was "set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the garter in England;" and lord Dartmouth adds, that "all the pretence for antiquity is some old pictures of kings of Scotland, with medals of St Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks." Whether old or new, it was conferred as a mark of James's esteem, and in farther proof of his confidence he entrusted the earl of Arran with the command of a regiment of horse, when the new levies took place on the descent of the duke of Monmouth. At a period of greater disaster to James's fortunes, when lord Churchill, afterwards the great Marlborough, went over to the prince of Orange, the duke of Berwick was advanced to the station he had occupied as colonel of the 3d troop of horse guards, and in the room of his grace, Arran was made colonel of Oxford's regiment. From the course which events took, however, the earl had no opportunity of signaling his bravery in the cause of his master; but he carried his fidelity as far as any man in the kingdom, having been one of the four lords who accompanied James to Gravesend, when the fallen monarch repaired thither on his way into foreign exile. Returning to London, Arran complied with the general example, and waited on the prince of Orange; being one of the last that came, he offered an excuse which partook more of the bluntness of the soldier than of political or courtlike dexterity: "If the king had not withdrawn out of the country," he said, "he should not have come at all." The next day the prince intimated to him that he had bestowed his regiment upon its old colonel, the earl of Oxford.

Nor was Arran solicitous to appease by subsequent compliance the displeasure incurred in his first interview with the prince. On the 7th January, William

assembled the Scottish nobles and gentlemen then in London, and told them that he wanted their advice "what was to be done for securing the protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration." His highness withdrew after making this request, and the duke of Hamilton<sup>1</sup> was chosen to preside. The politics of his grace were quite different from those of his son; and the fact of his being selected to preside over their deliberations was an intimation of the course which the assembly intended to pursue. But Arran either did not perceive, or did not regard this circumstance; he proposed, that as the prince had desired their advice, they should move him to invite the king to return, and call a free parliament, "which, in my humble opinion," he added, "will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches." Nobody seconded this proposal; but it seems to have astounded the deliberators a good deal: they dispersed, and did not re-assemble till the second day after, when their resolution to stand by the prince of Orange and to exclude the exiled James, having been strengthened by some remarks from the duke of Hamilton, they recommended the measures which the emergency seemed to them to require.

A short time after the settlement of the throne upon William and Mary, as the earl of Arran was passing along the streets in a chair, about eleven at night, he was set upon by four or five people with drawn swords. He defended himself courageously, and being vigorously seconded by his footman and chairmen, came off with only a few slight hurts in the hand. This incident was charged against the new monarch, as if he had sought to rid himself by assassination of one who had so very coolly, if not resolutely, opposed his reception in England. But there was neither any disposition nor any necessity for resorting to such means for weakening the ranks of the adherents of James. The attack upon the earl is believed to have proceeded from another cause; namely, the involvement of his lordship's pecuniary affairs, and to have been the act of an exasperated creditor. The earl, however, certainly was obnoxious to government at this period. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, with Sir Robert Hamilton and two others of his countrymen; but was soon liberated upon bail; upon which he judged it prudent, both on account of the suspicion to which his political opinions exposed him, and of embarrassments in his private fortune, to retire to Scotland. There his father enjoyed the full confidence of government; his services in the convention of the states, of which he was president, having mainly contributed to the settlement of the crown upon William. Here Arran lived in retirement, the progress of affairs and the paternal authority tending to reconcile him to the revolution. At his father's death in 1695, the earl of Arran was not advanced in rank and not very much in fortune. The title of duke had been conferred upon its late possessor to be held during his lifetime, by consent of the heiress, whom he had married; and at his death it remained with her, together with the bulk of the estate. It was not till the marriage of Arran in 1698, with lord Gerrard of Bromley's daughter, that his mother consented that her eldest son should assume the honours of the family. Upon this William, willing to gratify the family, signed a patent, creating him duke of Hamilton, with precedency in the same manner as if he had succeeded to the title by the decease of his mother.

The events hitherto recorded in this nobleman's life were not of great moment: he was a young man, acting in a great measure from personal bias, and his opinions had little weight or influence beyond the sphere of the private friends with whom he associated. We now approach a period when his conduct in the legislative assembly of his country, determined more than that of any other

<sup>1</sup> The earl of Selkirk bore this title in right of marriage to the duchess.

of its members the fate of the two most momentous political measures that ever were debated in it—the act of security and the act of union. The events of William's reign had been highly exasperating to the Scottish nation. Not only had commercial enterprise been repressed, but this had been done in the most base and most cruel manner. The same monarch who sanctioned the massacre of Glencoe, first granted a charter to the Darien company, and then exerted his influence with foreign nations in order to withhold from their colony the necessary supplies, and sent instructions to the governor of the English colonies to the same effect. Many perished of famine, "murdered," says Sir Walter Scott, "by king William's government, no less than if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." The spirit of an ancient people, never tolerant of contumely, far less of cruelties so atrocious as these, did not burst out into immediate and open defiance of their more powerful neighbour, but reserved itself for a period more favourable for the vindication of its insulted rights. During the rest of his life, William could draw no subsidies from Scotland, nor a single recruit for his continental wars. The instability of a new reign afforded a fitting opportunity for the assertion of independence. An act had been passed in the time of king William, empowering the parliament in being at his death to continue, and take the steps necessary for securing the protestant succession. In virtue of this act queen Anne thought proper not to call a new parliament; but a party, at the head of whom was the duke of Hamilton, maintained that the purposes contemplated by that provision were sufficiently satisfied by the settlement of her majesty on the throne. Accordingly, before the royal commission was read, the duke took a protest against it, and retiring with twenty-nine who adhered to him, their retreat was greeted with shouts of applause by the people assembled without. This proceeding may be considered the germ of that opposition which ripened in the two following years into the formidable act of security.

The parliament of 1703, instead of proceeding in conformity with the wishes of government, to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person for whom that of England was destined, resolved that this was the time to obtain an equality of commercial privileges, and to rescue the country from the state of a degraded and oppressed province of England. They accordingly passed an act stipulating that the two crowns should not be held by the same monarch, unless the Scottish people were admitted by the English to the full benefit of trade and navigation: to make good the separation of the countries if it should be necessary, every man capable of bearing arms was to be regularly drilled, and all commissions, civil and military, were to lose effect at the moment of the queen's demise, in order that the states of Scotland might then appoint an entirely new set of magistrates and officers, faithful maintainers of the independence of the kingdom. The duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale headed the country party, by whom this measure was passed. It was debated with the utmost fierceness by the speakers on both sides, with their hands on their swords. The queen's commissioner refused his assent, and was obliged to dismiss the assembly without obtaining supplies, every demand of that kind being answered with shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!"

At this time the duke was involved in the accusations of Fraser of Lovat, who detailed to the government a plot, in which he alleged that he had engaged several Scottish noblemen for the restoration of the son of James II. The parliament of England took up the matter, and passed a resolution, declaring that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed in Scotland to overthrow the protestant succession. Hamilton, and the others named with him, defended themselves by maintaining that the whole affair was nothing but a malicious attempt of the

court, in consequence of the decided part they had taken in behalf of their country's rights, to destroy their reputation, and weaken the patriotic party to which they belonged. Their countrymen were in no mood to take part against them: on the contrary, they considered the vote of the English legislature as a fresh encroachment upon their liberties, another unwarrantable interference with matters beyond their jurisdiction. When the states met in 1704, therefore, there was no alteration in their tone—the act of security was insisted upon with the same determination; and it was now wisely acceded to.

Scotland was thus legally disjoined from England, and the military preparations, provided for in the act of security, were immediately commenced. This measure, however threatening it might appear, produced ultimately the most beneficial effects, having had the effect of rousing the English government to the danger of a rupture with Scotland. Should that nation make choice of a separate sovereign, it was likely to be one who had claims to the throne of England; and thus not only might the old hostilities between the two countries be rekindled, not only might a Scottish alliance be resorted to by foreign courts, to strengthen them in their designs against England, but the prince who held his court at Edinburgh, would have numerous adherents in the southern part of the island, as well as in Ireland, by whose assistance long and harassing wars might be maintained, with too probable a chance of the ultimate establishment of the exiled family on the British throne.

The prospect of dangers such as these induced the English government to devote all their influence to the formation of a treaty, by which the two countries might be incorporated, and all causes of dissension, at least in a national point of view, removed. During the discussion of this measure, the details of which proved extremely unsatisfactory to the Scottish people, they looked up to the duke of Hamilton as the political leader on whom the fate of the country entirely depended. That nobleman seems in his heart to have been hostile to the union. In the earlier stages of the proceedings, he displayed considerable firmness in his opposition, and out of doors he was greeted with the most enthusiastic plaudits. The duke of Queensberry, who acted as royal commissioner, had his lodging in Holyrood house; so had the duke of Hamilton. The queen's representative could only pass to his coach through lanes of armed soldiery, and hurried home amidat volleys of stones and roars of execration; while the popular favourite was attended all the way from the Parliament Close by crowds, who encouraged him with loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. A plan was devised, with the duke's consent, for interrupting the progress of this odious treaty, by a general insurrection. But when the agents had arranged matters for the rising of the Cameronians in the west country, either doubting the practicability of the scheme, or reluctant to involve the country in civil war, he despatched messengers to countermand the rising, and was so far successful, that only an inconsiderable number repaired to the place of rendezvous. It was next resolved that a remonstrance should be presented by the nobles, barons, and gentry hostile to the union; and about four hundred of them assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of waiting upon the lord commissioner, with this expression of the national opinion. The address was drawn up with the understanding that it should be presented by the duke of Hamilton; but that nobleman again thwarted the measures of his party by refusing to appear, unless a clause were inserted in the address, expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the crown on the house of Hanover. To this proposal the Jacobites, who formed a large portion of the opponents of the union, would not listen for a moment; and while discussions and disputes were protracted between the dukes of Athol and Hamilton, the gentlemen who had at-

tended their summons to swell the ranks of the remonstrants, dispersed to their homes, chagrined and disappointed.

Hamilton next assembled the leaders of the opposition, recommended that they should forget former jarrings, and endeavour to repair previous mismanagement by a vigorous and united effort for the defeat of the obnoxious treaty. He proposed that a motion formerly made for settling the succession in the house of Hanover should be renewed, in conjunction with a proposal fatal to the union; and that, on its being rejected, as it was sure to be in such circumstances, a strong protest should be taken, and the whole of their party should publicly secede from parliament. The consequence of this step, he argued, must be, that the government would abandon further proceedings, as they could not pretend to carry through a measure of such importance with a mere handful of the national representatives, whose opinions were so conspicuously at variance with the wishes of the great mass of the people. The Jacobites objected to the preliminary motion, but the duke overcame their scruples by representing, that as it must necessarily be rejected, it could not entangle them in any obligation inconsistent with their principles. Finally, he assured them, that if this plan failed of its effect, and the English should still press on the union, he would join them to recall the son of James II. The purpose of the anti-unionists having come to the knowledge of the duke of Queensberry, he sought an interview, it is said, with the leader of the popular party, and assured him that if the measure miscarried, his grace should be held accountable for its failure, and be made to suffer for it in his English estates. Whether intimidated by this threat, or that his own understanding did not approve of the course which his feelings prompted, Hamilton was the first to fail in the performance of the scheme which he had taken so much pains to persuade his coadjutors to consent to. "On the morning appointed for the execution of their plan," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be an attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothach that he could not attend the house that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct, that he at length came down to the house; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered, with extreme surprise, that they had reckoned on his grace, as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court, by being foremost in breaking their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation, the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost. The members who had hitherto opposed the union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on parliament, and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition."

Such is the story of the duke of Hamilton's share in these two great measures. It presents a curious view of perseverance and firmness of purpose at one time, and of the utmost instability at another in the same person, both concurring to produce a great and important change in the feelings and interests of two na-

tions powerful in old times from their hardihood and valour, rendered more powerful in later times by the union of these qualities with intelligence and enlightened enterprise. The conspicuous and decided manner in which the duke of Hamilton stood forward, as the advocate of the act of security, carried it through a stormy opposition, and placed the kingdom in a state of declared but legalized defiance of England; while the unsteadiness of his opposition to the union paved the way for the reconciliation of the two nations. Had the Scottish people never asserted their independence with that determination which forced the English government to sanction the act of security—had the duke's resolution failed him here, the terms of equality subsequently offered by England would not have been granted:—had the states persevered in the same intractable spirit when the union was proposed to them—had the duke manifested any portion of his former firmness, the mutual interests of England and Scotland might have been barred, the two kindred people might have been thrown back into interminable hostilities, and the glory and happiness which Great Britain has attained might never have been known.

Though the consequences of the union have been so beneficial to Scotland, yet the treaty was urged forward by means which no friend of his country could approve. The body of the nation regarded it as disgraceful and ruinous; its supporters were purchased with bribes—one nobleman sold himself for the miserable sum of eleven pounds sterling; and its opponents were awed to silence by threats. No wonder that men of honourable minds were fired with indignation, and many of them prepared to resort to desperate measures to wipe away the national disgrace. The opportunity seemed favourable for a movement among the Jacobites, and an agent from France engaged a number of the nobles to join the chevalier if he should land on the Scottish shores. Among these was the duke of Hamilton, who, although pressed to declare himself prematurely, adhered to the letter of his agreement, and by his prudence saved his large estates from confiscation. Whilst the French ships were on the seas, with the design of an invasion, his grace was taken into custody as a disaffected person, but suffered a very short restraint. This did not prevent his being named among the sixteen Scottish peers who took their place in the first British parliament, in which he attached himself to the tory party, and "stickled as much," to use the words of a biographer of that period, "for Dr Sacheverell and the high church interest, as he had done about three years before for the security of the Scottish kirk." The whigs losing their influence in the councils of queen Anne, the opposite party began to be received into favour; and in June, 1711, Hamilton was created duke of Brandon. He was at that time one of the representatives of the Scottish nobility, but claimed to take his seat as a British peer. In this he was vehemently opposed, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the admission of Queensberry in virtue of the title of duke of Dover. After a long debate, in which a motion to take the opinion of the judges was rejected, it was decided, that since the union no Scottish peer could take his place in the British parliament in any other character than as one of the sixteen representatives. This decision so highly incensed the Scottish lords that they seceded from the house: they were appeased and prevailed on to return, but the point was not conceded at that time, although the queen interested herself in behalf of the duke of Hamilton. Nor was it till so late as the year 1789, when his descendant again preferred his claim, that, the judges having given an unanimous opinion in his favour, the eligibility of Scottish noblemen to the full privileges of peers of Great Britain was established.

The duke had married, to his second wife, Anne, daughter of lord Digby Gerrard, by Elizabeth sister to the earl of Macclesfield. Lady Gerrard was left

by her husband's will guardian to her daughter, whose fortune amounted to about £60,000; and while the duke courted her, he offered to content himself with that dowry, and bound himself in a bond of £10,000 to give her mother a relief of her guardianship two days after the marriage. This engagement, however, he not only declined to perform, but sought relief of his bond in chancery, which was so highly resented by lady Gerrard that she left all she had to her brother, and bequeathed to her child a legacy of five shillings, and a diamond necklace in case the duke should consent to give the release in question. This his grace persisted in withholding, and the earl of Macclesfield settled his estate, to the prejudice of the duchess of Hamilton, on another niece who had married the lord Mohun. The lawsuit to compel that nobleman, as executor of lady Gerrard, to give an account of his guardianship, was continued; and the feelings of the two parties were mutually much embittered in the course of the proceedings. Mohun was a man of violent temper, and in his youth accustomed himself to the most depraved society. When he was about twenty years of age, one of his companions murdered Mountford, a comedian in Drury Lane; and, the principal having absconded, Mohun was tried by the house of peers. Fourteen voices pronounced him guilty, but sixty-nine cleared him. So far, however, was the shameful situation in which he had been placed from reclaiming him, that he plunged again into the same courses, and seven years after was arraigned at the same bar on a similar accusation. This time, indeed, it was proved that his lordship had no participation in the crime, but had used some endeavours to prevent it. Thereafter he abstained, indeed, from dissolute and lawless brawls, but he carried into the pursuits of politics no small share of the heat which marked his early career. "It is true," says a contemporary writer, who seems to have been willing to excuse his faults, "he still loved a glass of wine with his friends; but he was exemplarily temperate when he had any business of moment to attend." His quarrelsome disposition was notorious, and the duke's friends had been long apprehensive that a collision would take place, and repeatedly warned his grace to be on his guard. On the 11th of November, the two noblemen had a meeting at the chambers of Mr Orlebar, a master in chancery, in relation to the lawsuit, when every thing passed off quietly. Two days after, on the examination of a person of the name of Whitworth, who had been a steward to lady Gerrard, the duke was so provoked by the substance of his deposition, as openly to declare, "He had neither truth nor justice in him." To this lord Mohun rejoined, "He had as much truth as his grace." No further recrimination passed; another meeting was arranged for the Saturday following, and the duke, on retiring, made a low bow to Mohun, who returned it. There were eleven persons present, and none of them suspected any ill consequence from what had just taken place. His lordship, however, immediately sent a challenge to the duke, which was accepted. On the 15th of November, 1713, the day that had been fixed for a resumption of their amicable conference, they repaired to the Ring in Hyde Park, and, being both greatly exasperated, they fought with peculiar determination and ferocity. This is attested by the number and deadliness of the wounds on both sides. Lord Mohun fell and died on the spot. He had one wound mortal, but not immediately so, entering by the right side, penetrating through the belly, and going out by the iliac bone on the left side. Another dreadful gash, in which the surgeon's hands met from opposite sides, ran from the groin on the left side down through the great vessels of the thigh. This was the cause of immediate death. There were some slighter incisions, and two or three fingers of the left hand were cut off. The duke's body suffered an equal havoc, partly inflicted, it was alleged, by foul play. A cut in the elbow of the sword-arm severed the small tendons, and occasioned so much



loss of blood as to be fatal. A wound in the left breast, between the third and fourth upper ribs, pierced downwards through the midriff and caul, sufficient to produce death, but not immediately. He had also a dangerous slash in the right leg. It is believed that the duke, after his right arm was disabled, being ambidexter, shifted his weapon, and killed Mohun with his left hand. The wound in his own breast was the last that was inflicted, and colonel Hamilton gave his oath that it was the sword of general Macartney, Mohun's second, which dealt it. So strong was the presumption of the truth of this, that the general absconded, and when brought to trial in the ensuing reign, the evidence upon which he was acquitted still left the matter doubtful.

The death of two men of rank in so bloody a rencounter, was in itself enough to produce a strong feeling of horror in the public mind. The unfair play by which it was believed one of them had been sacrificed, filled every honourable bosom with indignation; and the agitation was increased by reports that the duke had fallen a victim to assassination instigated by political hatred. Immediately before the duel took place, he had been named ambassador extraordinary to Paris, with powers to effect an arrangement for the restoration of the exiled family on the death of the queen; and the party who were desirous of such a consummation, openly alleged that his death had been conspired by the whigs with a view to prevent it. This does not appear to have been the case, however true it may be that Mohun was a zealot in politics, and disreputable in his private character.<sup>1</sup> The duke's body was conveyed to Scotland for burial. The deplorable death of so amiable a nobleman spread a very general regret; a bill to prevent duelling was in consequence introduced into the house of commons, but it was dropt after the first reading.

HAMILTON, JOHN, a secular priest, made himself remarkable in the 16th century by his furious zeal in behalf of the church of Rome; leaving all the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period far behind by the boldness and energy with which he defended the tenets of the Romish church, and assailed those of the reformed religion. There is nothing known of the earlier part of his life, but

<sup>1</sup> The following curious anecdote respecting the fifth duke of Hamilton, son of the above, occurs in a manuscript account of the ducal family, in the possession of Mr Chancellor of Shieldhill:—

"Upon the 31st of October, 1726, he was, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, installed knight of the most noble order of the thistle, by James, earl of Findlater and Seafield, appointed for that effect representative of king George I.

"The regalia, now after the union, being locked up in the castle, they wanted the sword of state for that purpose, and, as the story went, they had recourse to the earle of Rothes's, which was not only gifted by general M'Kerney to him, but the same with which he should have so basely stabbed the duke his father. And the guards, who drew up about the earle c.f. Findlater, as king's commissioner, chanced also to be the Scots Fuziliere, then under the command of the said M'Kerney; which occasioned the following verses:—

"Ye sons of old Scotland, come hither and look  
On Rothes's sword, that knighted the duke.  
Dispell all your thoughts, your cares, and your fears,  
Being noble guarded by your own fuzellers.

Yet

The peers and the heraulds were in a strange hustle,  
How they could install a knight of the thistle;  
For, wanting the sword and honours of state,  
What shame could they get to lay on his pate?

Some voted a cane, and others a mace,  
But true-hearted Seafield spoke thus to his grace:  
My lord, upon honour, the regalia are fled,  
Which were basely sold off by me and your dade,—  
But—here's Rothes's sword—so down on your knee!  
Now, rise up a knight and a knave lyke me."

there is some ground for believing that his violence and activity rendered him obnoxious to the Scottish government, and that he was in consequence compelled to leave the kingdom. Whatever may have been the cause of his departure from Scotland, he established himself at Paris in the year 1573. Here he applied to the study of theology, and with such success, that he was soon afterwards appointed professor of philosophy in the royal college of Navarra.

In 1576, he became tutor to the cardinal de Bourbon, and in 1578, to Francis de Jayeune, afterwards promoted to a similar dignity. Besides these there were many other young persons of quality entrusted to him in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his talents and learning. In 1581, still burning with zeal, he published a work entitled "Ane Catholick and Facile Traictaise drawin out of the halie Scriptures, treulie exponit be the ancient doctrines to confirm the reall and corporell preasence of Christis pretious bodie and blude in the Sacrament of the altar." This work he dedicated to "His soverane Marie, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland." To this book were appended twenty-four Orthodox and Catholic Conclusions, dedicated to James VI., whom, by the aid of some reasoning of his own, he termed king of Scotland. These "Conclusions" he prefaced with equal prolixity as the work itself, but more characteristically — "testimonies for antiquitie of religion and succession of pastors in the catholick kirk, and certane questionis to the quihilkis we desire the ministers mak resolute answer at their next generall assemblie, and send the same imprentit to us with diligence, utherwise we protest that their pretendit religion is altogidder antichristian and repugnant to God and his halie kirk." What fortune attended this bold challenge does not appear, but his own in the meantime, was steadily advancing. In 1584, he was chosen rector of the university of Paris, and in 1585, while yet a licentiate in theology, he was elected to the cure of St Cosmus and Damian by that part of the students of the university of Paris called the German nation. His election on this occasion was disputed, but finally confirmed by a decree of parliament.

Still amongst the foremost and most violent in all religious discords, Hamilton became a furious zealot for the Catholic League of 1566, which it is well known had for its object the extermination of protestants, without regard to the means, and figured during that celebrated era under the title of Curé de St. Cosme. In the same spirit he again distinguished himself when Henry IV. of France besieged Paris in the year 1590.

On that occasion he mustered the Parisian ecclesiastics, drew them up in battle array, and led them on against the forces of the heretics under Henry, making them halt occasionally to sing hymns as they advanced. As the king of France was compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris before he finally carried the city, by the duke of Parma, who, despatched by Philip, king of Spain, now arrived with an army to assist the leaguers who defended it, Hamilton not only escaped the fate which would certainly have awaited him, had Henry succeeded in the siege, but became more active and turbulent than ever, and soon after was one of the celebrated "council de Seize quartier," who took upon them, with an effrontery which has no parallel in history, to dispose of the crown of France; and actually went the length of offering it to Philip II. of Spain, to be bestowed on whomsoever he thought fit. Of all the bigoted and merciless fanatics who composed the fraternity of the "Seize," Hamilton was the most bigoted and relentless; and when those wretches had resolved on the murder of Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, together with L'Archer, and Tardif, two obnoxious councillors, it was Hamilton who arrested the latter, and dragged him from a sick bed to the scaffold; and although the duke of Mayenne came immediately to Paris on hearing of these atrocities, and hanged

four of the ring-leaders of the infamous fraternity by which they had been perpetrated, yet Hamilton by some means or other contrived to escape sharing in their punishment. In 1594, his unextinguishable zeal again placed him in an extraordinary and conspicuous position. On the day on which Henry IV. entered Paris, after embracing the catholic religion, and while *Te Deum* was celebrating for the restoration of peace and good government, Hamilton, with some of his frantic associates, flew to arms, with the desperate design of still expelling the king, in whose conversion they had no faith. The attempt, however, as might have been expected, was a total failure, and Hamilton was taken into custody, but was afterwards allowed to leave France without farther punishment. The parliament, however, some time after his departure, sentenced him to be broken on the wheel for the murder of Tardif, and as he was not then forthcoming in person, ordered that their decree should be carried into execution on his effigy. Hamilton in the meantime had retired to the Low Countries, and was now residing at Brussels, under the Spanish government.

In 1600, he published another work on religious matters, entitled "A Catalogue of one hundred and sixty-seven heresies, lies, and calumnies, teachit and practisit be the ministers of Calvin's sect, and corruptions of twenty-three passages of the Scripture be the ministeris adulterate translations thereof." This work he dedicated to the Scottish king. In 1601, Hamilton returned to his native country, after an absence of above thirty years. He was there joined by one Edmond Hay, an eminent Jesuit, equally turbulent and factious with himself. The arrival of these two dangerous men, whose characters were well known, especially that of Hamilton, having reached the ears of the king, he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining their instant departure from the kingdom under pain of treason, and declared all guilty of the like crime who harboured them.

Notwithstanding this edict, Hamilton contrived to find shelter in the north, and to elude for some time the vigilance of the government. Amongst others who contravened the king's proclamation on this occasion was the lord Ogilvie, who afforded him a temporary residence at his house of Airly. At length the Scottish privy council, determined to have possession of so dangerous a person, despatched a party of life-guards to apprehend him. When found and desired to surrender, this indomitable and factious spirit, who had bearded the king of France in his might, treated the orders of a Scottish privy council with contempt, and endeavoured to resist them, but in vain. His life, however, was afterwards spared by the king, who, by a very slight stretch of certain laws then existing, might have deprived him of it. This clemency is said to have arisen from James's regard for Hamilton's nephew, then Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards earl of Haddington. The former, after his capture, spent the remainder of his days in the Tower, where he was sent at once for his own safety and that of the kingdom.

Amongst other peculiarities of Hamilton, it is recorded that he entertained a strong aversion to the introduction of English words into the Scottish language, a practice which was then becoming fashionable; and in the abuse which he was constantly heaping on the protestant preachers, he frequently charges them with "Knapping Suddrone," (aiming at English,) and still greater enormity with having it "imprentit at London in contempt of our native language;" and in proof at once of his abhorrence of all innovation in this particular, and of his partiality for the native unadulterated language of his own country, he always wrote in a style somewhat more uncouth than was warranted by the period in which he lived.

HAMILTON, JOHN, archbishop of St Andrews, and the last Scottish primate of the Roman catholic faith, was the natural son of James, earl of Arran, by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire. No nearer approximation seems to have been made to the period of his birth, than that it must have happened some time during the reign of James V. The early education of a person so situated is not likely to have attracted much attention, and we may, with a pretty equal chance of arriving at the truth, either receive or reject the statement of M'Kenzie,<sup>1</sup> made with the laudable desire of biographers, to afford complete and minute information, that he studied the belles lettres and philosophy at Glasgow, and theology in France, where he entered into holy orders. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained, that he returned in the year 1543, from some residence or journey in France, and found himself abbot of Paisley, a situation within the limits of the extensive church patronage of his father, to which the son was nominated in 1541.<sup>1</sup> The circumstance of his journey through England in his return from France introduced this ambitious man to the commencement of his restless career. He was graciously received by Henry VIII., and either in duplicity; or ignorance of the scene of action about to open to him, he entered into the views of the English monarch with regard to a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, which he was afterwards to use his best endeavours to frustrate. On his arrival in Scotland he found the path of distinction just opened to his view, by the recent advancement of his vacillating brother to the regency of the kingdom, and may have conceived those high projects which the weakness of his unhappy relative fostered, while it interfered with their consummation. He joined cardinal Beaton in that opposition which the primate's fears for the safety of the church prompted him to exhibit towards the matrimonial alliance with England, and the enemies of Hamilton have not been backward in attributing to him an unhesitating application to the most ungenerous and infamous means for the achievement of his ends, throughout the heart-burning and unfortunate progress of that renowned conference. The change produced in the regent's policy by the persuasion of the abbot, and the something more than persuasion of the cardinal, assisted by the insults of the English monarch, is well known, with all its calamitous consequences. The perseverance of Hamilton was rewarded by the offices of privy seal, and of high treasurer, in which latter he succeeded Kirkaldy of Grange. In 1545, he was further rewarded by the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld. With much modesty he wished to retain, after his elevation, both the dignity and emolument of his abbacy, but was prompted to resign them on his brother James being nominated his successor, with the moderate reservation of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime, and the power to re-enter, in the event of surviving his brother. On the death of

<sup>1</sup> M'Kenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. 102.—The accurate authors of the *History of the Senators of the College of Justice*, have referred this presentation to so early a period as 1525. These authors are usually extremely minute in their references, but here the authority is omitted. We presume it to be that of Crawford, who in his *Officers of State* refers the event to the same period. The latter is certainly the more veracious authority of the two, yet, admitting that we have not undergone the labour of an investigation among the original records which might clear up so wide a divergence, we are inclined in this instance to believe the dictum of M'Kenzie. The authors of the late work alluded to falsify the statement of M'Kenzie, that Hamilton was on the continent for some years previously to 1543, by a reference to the records of parliament, in which the abbot of Paisley is mentioned in two sederunts, that of 1534, and that of 1540. If Hamilton was not appointed till 1541, this must have been the previous abbot. If he was appointed in 1545, we can only accede to M'Kenzie's statement of his absence on the continent, on the supposition that he had taken advantage of the act 3d. James I. chap. 52, which entitled prelates, earls, &c. to appear by their procurators, on producing proof of a necessary cause of absence—a privilege which, if it was ever taken advantage of, fell soon after into disuse.

cardinal Beaton, Hamilton was translated to the archbishopric of St Andrews. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor, he commenced his inauspicious career with blood. A man of the name of Adam Wallace, was tried before him in a synod, in the Blackfriars' church of Edinburgh, and being found guilty of acting as a vagrant preacher, baptizing his own children, and of inability to discover the term "mass" in the Holy Scriptures, he was delivered over to the civil judge, and burnt at the stake. But the archbishop was not one of those who welcomed the rising strength of the Reformation with fire and sword. He was a strong thinking and acute man, with a mind conversant in the weaknesses and prejudices of men, and well adapted to hold the balance firmly and cautiously between contending parties. He was not of those spirits framed to be the scourges of the earth, but fate had cast him in evil days on an unhappy land, where men were not accustomed to scruple at the measures by which they gratified their passions or prejudices, and the minds formed in more peaceful times for the best things, burst the regulating power, which might have restrained them in a period of less temptation.

Hamilton saw the coming enemy, and the moderation and firmness with which he defended the church, protracted for a short period the fall of the crumbling fabric. He used his utmost endeavours to put to rest a fiery controversy, which inflamed his district, on the subject of addressing the Lord's prayer to the saints; a heterodox English priest having maintained that it should be addressed to the Deity alone, while an orthodox friar of St Andrews proved, by a syllogistic examination of each department of the prayer, that there were good reasons why it ought to be addressed to the saints, because there were no references in it which would not apply to their situation, excepting towards the end, where requests were made which it was entirely beyond the power of saints to grant, and in which their intercession only should be presumed to be requested. Out of the discussions on this matter, arose disputes on the exact mental value of the appeal to the saints, some maintaining it to be made to the saints *materialiter*, while it was made to the Deity *formaliter*—others, that while it was addressed to the Deity *principaliter*, it came before the saints *minus principaliter*: and the grades of distinction being too numerous for the consideration of the primate, who was never a casuist without having some purpose in view, he remitted them to a provincial synod, which duly attended to the interest of the saints. At this synod the archbishop performed one of those prudent acts of reconciliation, by which he sought to avert the fall of his order. He had prepared a catechism containing an exposition in English of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, which was formally approved of by the synod, and ordered to be read to the people on Sundays and holidays, by the curates of the respective churches, and which was afterwards circulated through the country at such a small price as might remunerate the hawkers by whom it was vended. In the year 1551, the days of this ambitious priest appeared to be nearly ended by a stubborn asthmatic complaint, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who pronounced his recovery as hopeless. The celebrated Cardan was induced, by a magnificent remuneration, to visit him, and the disease yielded either to the medicines of the empiric or to nature. M'Kenzie has taken much pains to prove that, in calling for the assistance of this singular individual, the primate did not appeal to the powers of magic, as Buchanan and others have accused him of having done; but it is much to be doubted whether, from the character of both parties, the patient did not suppose he was receiving, and the physician that he was administering, the aid of unholy powers. The influence of Hamilton's mind over that of his brother, is shown by the advantage taken of his sick-

ness. The queen mother seized the opportunity which her own ambitious views, and the instigations of her family had prepared her to use, and extracted from the feeble regent a resignation of his authority into her own hands. The archbishop on his recovery felt the indignation natural to a fierce and ambitious spirit, compelled by his situation to depend on a person whose feeble mind required to be kept at its purpose by the firmness of his own. According to Sir James Melville, the convalescent priest received the intelligence with a burst of rage; "he cursed, and cried out that the governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her," bestowing an epithet not very decorous on the princess who stood between his brother and the throne. But Sir James Melville mentions the intelligence as having been received by him when abroad, and from the information of captain Ninian Cockburn, "a busy meddler,"—and however certainly we may judge of the ambitious prospects of the archbishop, it is not likely that he would have uttered them in a situation which would have admitted their being reported to such a person. The effect of his recovery is a farther evidence of his powerful mind. The resignation not duly and formally completed was revoked, and with all the advantage of possessing the dignity, the powerful princess was compelled to submit for a time. After a protracted conference, the queen mother, aided by the influence of those whom her polished manners had secured, and of the protestant party in general, whom she affected to protect, seconded by the will of her daughter, no longer an infant, obtained her end; but the advantages stipulated for by the archbishop on the part of his brother, were the same as those which had been held out to him as a bait at the commencement of the contract, acknowledging, as a principal article, the ex-regent's right of succession, failing the young queen, which seems to have presented to the archbishop golden views of ambition which it were difficult to fathom. Hitherto the primacy of Hamilton had been marked by but one act of persecution, with which he was but indirectly connected; but just after the period of the last incident described, he appalled the nation by the perpetration of an act, for which neither religious bigotry, opposition to the regent, nor the alleged influence of the abbot of Kilwinning, are sufficient satisfactorily to account, in a man who knew so well the advantage of moderate measures. Walter MHN, an aged protestant minister, was tried at St Andrews, before the archbishop, found guilty of heresy, and condemned to death by the flames. Men looked with such deep horror on the act, that an individual possessing the requisite powers could hardly be found to add the supplementary authority of the civil judge—no one would furnish a rope to bind him to the stake, and the archbishop had to provide with his own sacred hands the necessary implement. The people of the country marked the spot of the reputed martyr's death by rearing over it a heap of stones, and so often as these were removed, the sullen memorial was restored by the patient and unyielding people. This was one of the marked acts which either terrify, or give impulse to a slowly approaching enemy—it had the latter effect—Knox preached soon after in the pulpit of his cathedral church, and the usual destruction attended his presence. The archbishop, who, whatever he might be in politics, was no bigot in religion, strove to compromise with the arch-reformer, admitting that there were many evils in the church which should be remedied, but that "he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in its place, which his new model was far from,"—but the proffer was unnoticed. He made a last and daring effort in the committee of estates in 1560, which gave the sanction of law to the doctrines and government of the protestant faith. He there objected to his own brother, the bishop of Argyll, and to the bishop of Galloway being ad-

mitted as lords of the articles, to prepare the measure for the adoption of the house, according to the constitution of the parliament of Scotland, because they had embraced presbyterianism, and were therefore disqualified by the constitution they were about to alter: and, along with the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, gave an unavailing opposition to the measures.

Three years after this convention, he became amenable to one of its provisions, which prohibited the celebration of mass, and was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was released through the reiterated tears and intercessions of queen Mary. Royal favour still beamed on the archbishop, but it was clouded by popular hatred. In 1556, at the imprudent request of the queen, he baptized the young prince with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, and with still more imprudence, if not with a design of aiding the perpetration of deep wickedness, he was, on the 23d of September, of the same year, personally re-invested by the queen's signature, in the consistorial jurisdiction, of which the clergy in general had been deprived by the legislature. Whitaker, with the purposes of a special pleader before him, maintains this not to have been a revival of the jurisdiction, but the special gift of an authority which had not been discontinued. Not to argue on the improbability, that a jurisdiction belonging to the body of right, should be bestowed on one particular member by favour, the act of parliament which transfers to the commissaries the consistorial authority of the church, is as plain as a Scottish act usually is. The dangerous and invidious jurisdiction thus bestowed, was used on one great occasion, and history has preserved no other instance of its application: he granted a commission to judges, who severed the inconvenient bonds betwixt earl Bothwell and his wife, which interfered in some respects with the formality of a marriage with the queen, and this act, coupled with the circumstance that the archbishop was one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley, so hastily transmitted to the French court, originated in the minds of his enemies suspicions of deep guilt, the justice of which we do not pretend to judge.

The fidelity of the archbishop towards the queen, however much party spirit may account for it on ambitious grounds, is, by a charitable interpretation, a pleasing part of his character. He was the heart and head of the party which associated for her cause, during her confinement in Lochleven. He aided her escape, and boldly urged on the battle, so unfortunate to the queen, which followed. He now bid a perpetual adieu to the state and pomp he had so long sustained, and seems to have for more than a year wandered through the country in search of a roof to protect him. On the capture of Dunbarton castle in 1571, the governor of which had bestowed on him temporary protection, he was tried on an accusation of four several acts of treason. First, "That he knew, and was participand or accomplice in the murdering of king Henry, the queen's husband. 2d, That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure. 3d, That he knew, or was participand in the murder of James, earl of Murray, the late regent. 4th, That he lay in wait at the wood of Calendar, for the slaughter of Matthew, earl of Lennox, the present regent." With a candour which ought to weigh much with the world, in the consideration of the other atrocities of which he has been accused, he confessed with contrition a participation in the third crime laid to his charge: much confusion and mystery attend the accounts of this trial which have reached our time, but it would appear that some difficulties, either in form or evidence attending the proof of the crimes laid to his charge, prompted recourse to a fo-

tion convenient on such occasions, and disgraceful to the law in which it found a place—an act of forfeiture *in absence* had been passed against the archbishop in the first parliament of regent Murray, and in terms of that act he was hanged on the common gibbet of Stirling, in his pontifical robes, on the 5th April, 1571. The law of that period, like a weapon of war, was used by party against party, and was a protection to none but those who could wield it, a terror to none but those against whom some powerful adversary could direct it; and hence even those punishments, which, as abstract rewards of guilt, might be looked on as equitable, became unjust—because they were the offspring of malignity, and not dealt for the prevention of farther crimes. The archbishop had committed the crime of religious intolerance, which is a crime under whatever form it appears, however casuists may vindicate it by the arguments which may be used in vindication of any crime whatever—prejudice and conviction of the mind—and a crime which mankind may be said never to forgive or forget, but to treasure for the indignation of future ages. Yet those crimes which are perpetrated by the assistance of the law, are not fit for receiving punishment from that instrument: public opinion, and the weight of the public voice are the restraints which men and legislatures should feel under such temptations; for the punishment of persecution, being always bestowed by the party which has been persecuted, is a repetition of the crime, and a re-opening of the wounds of party rancour. The ignominy gratuitously bestowed on the reverend head of their party and religion was not soon forgot by the adherents of the Hamiltons, and long after his haughty indomitable spirit had ceased to oppose the progress of the reformation, his name, and the memory of his fate, were bonds of union to the papists, and dreaded by the protestants. Like that of all violent partisans, the memory of Hamilton has been coloured with much blame, and with much praise. Buchanan has wasted good Latin both in prose and verse in ascribing to him all the vices of which poor human nature is susceptible—"Archiepiscopus etiam in omnium rerum licentia suis cupiditatibus obsequabatur;"—nor does he hesitate to charge him with accession to two deliberate murders, from the punishment consequent on one of which, his influence protected the principal perpetrator, the father of his mistress. His incontinence is a charge which circumstances have, to a considerable extent, justified.

His open and received mistress was a female of the name of Semple, whom his defenders maintain he had married early in life, and before he had entered into holy orders; but the proof is insufficient to meet the contrary presumptions. An article of the treaty of Perth has been discovered, restoring the son of the archbishop to the possessions of his father, forfeited through treason. It appoints "that the heirs and successors of persons forfeited, properly comprehended under this pacification, and now departed this life, shall be restored, and made lawful to enter by brieves to their lands and possessions, notwithstanding of the forfeitures laid against their fathers or predecessors, and as giff they had died at our sovereign Lord's faith and peace, and especially of John, archbishop of St Andrews," &c. The circumstance is rather unintelligible; if the son was in law illegitimate, the restoration could not without legitimation admit his suing forth a brief of service to his father, and the circumstance of the father having been a priest, was sufficient to establish the illegitimacy, whether a marriage had taken place before his advancement to the priesthood or not. It would appear that the female in question was the wife of another man, while she was the mistress of the archbishop. "But supposing," says M'Kenzie, "that the bishop had made this slip in his youth, it is not a sufficient ground to stain the whole course of his after life with."



A

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

## EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

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### H.

**HAMILTON, (THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR) WILLIAM**, British ambassador at the court of Naples, and celebrated for his patronage of the fine arts, and his investigations on the subject of volcanoes, was born in 1730. Neither biographers nor contemporary periodical writers have furnished any account of his education or early habits; all that is commemorated regarding him previous to the commencement of his public life, is, that his family, a branch of the noble house of Hamilton, was in very reduced circumstances. He was in the most difficult of all situations—poor, highborn, and a Scotsman. "I was condemned," to use his own words, "to make my way in the world, with an illustrious name and a thousand pounds." Like many of his countrymen so situated, he had a choice betwixt semi-starvation in the army, and an affluent marriage—he prudently preferred the latter; and in 1755 he found himself most happily settled in life, with a young lady of beauty, connexions, amiable qualifications, and £5000 a-year. It is very probable that Mr Hamilton spent his hours in philosophical ease, until his acquisition of that situation in which he afterwards distinguished himself. In 1764, he was appointed ambassador to the court of Naples, where he continued till the year 1800. If his appointment as a resident ambassador for so long a period, is to be considered as but a method of expressing in more consequential terms the employment of an agent for advancing the study of the arts, the person was well chosen for the purpose, and the interests of the public were well attended to; but if Mr Hamilton's claims to national respect are to be judged by his merely diplomatic duties, the debt, in addition to the salary he received, will be very small. The reason why a permanent representative of the British government should have been found requisite in Sicily, is in reality one of those circumstances which a diplomatist only could explain. The fame acquired in other departments by the subject of our memoir, has prompted his biographers to drag to light his diplomatic exertions, yet, although nothing has been discovered which can throw a blot on his good name, the amount of service performed in thirty-six years is truly ludicrous. He entered into explanations with the marquis Tanucci, first minister of Sicily, regarding some improper expressions used by a gentleman of the press of the name of Torcia, in his "Political Sketch of Europe." He managed to keep his Sicilian majesty neuter during the American war. He acted with prudence during the family misunderstandings between Spain and Naples in 1784; and finally, he exerted himself in preventing any mischief from being perpetrated by "an eccentric

character among our nobility," who had made attempts to give much trouble to prudent people, by his conduct at Naples. But the kingdom of the two Sicilies was but the shadow of a European power, and was only regarded as it followed one or other of the great nations whose contests shook the world. It afforded in its active existence no arena for the statesman or the soldier. It was in the dust of buried ages that was hid beneath its soil that the active mind found employment in that feeble kingdom, and these were the only objects worthy to absorb the attention of the distinguished person whom we are commemorating.

On his arrival at the interesting country of his mission, Mr Hamilton repeatedly visited Vesuvius and Etna, and from a minute examination of the whole surrounding country, collected numerous important geological observations, which were from time to time, between the years 1766 and 1779, transmitted to the Royal Society, and afterwards made their appearance in the transactions of that body, and in the Annual Register. It was the design of Sir William Hamilton, to point out in these observations such evidence as might lead geologists to a better comprehension of the influence of subterraneous fires on the structure of the earth, and to display the first links of a chain of reasoning, which it was his hope future industry might make complete. It was his opinion that the land for many miles round Naples, was not, as it was generally supposed, a district of fruitful land, subject to the ravages of flame; but a part of the surface of the globe which owed its very existence to the internal conflagrations by which it was shaken. In illustration of this he considered Etna to have been formed by a series of eruptions, at protracted periods, as the smaller eminence of Monte Nuovo, near Puzzuoli, had been formed by one eruption of 48 hours' continuance. Among other minute circumstances, he discovered that the streets of Pompeii were paved with the lava of a former age, and that there was a deep stratum of lava and burnt matter under the foundations of the town, showing that the earliest eruption of history was not the first of nature, and that the labours of man might have been more than once buried beneath such coverings. As illustrations of these valuable remarks, the author collected a magnificent assortment of the various descriptions of lava, which he lodged in our national museum, that naturalists might be able to trace a connexion betwixt these immediate productions of the volcano, and other portions of the crust of the globe. These remarks were afterwards digested and systematised, and produced, first "Observations on mount Vesuvius, mount Etna, and other volcanoes of the two Sicilies," published in London in 1772. The next, a more aspiring work, was published at Naples in 1776, in two folio volumes, and called "Campi Phlegreæ, Observations on the Volcanoes of the two Sicilies, as they have been communicated to the Royal Society of London, by Sir William Hamilton." The numerous plates in this magnificent work of art, from views taken on the spot by Mr Valris, a British artist, are faintly engraved in little more than outline, and coloured with so much depth and truth, that they assume the appearance of original water-colour drawings of a very superior order. They are illustrative of his favourite theory, and represent those geological aspects of the country which he considered peculiarly applicable as illustrations. It is to be remarked, that neither in his communications to the Royal Society, nor in his larger works, does this author trace any complete exclusive system. He merely points out the facts on which others may work, acknowledging that he is disposed to pay more respect to the share which fire has had in the formation of the crust of the earth, than Buffon and others are disposed to admit. "By the help of drawings," he says, "in this new edition of my communications to the society, which so clearly point out the volcanic origin of this country, it is to be hoped that farther discoveries of the same nature may be made, and

that subterraneous fires will be allowed to have had a greater share in the formation of mountains, islands, and even tracts of land, than has hitherto been suspected." Many men of eminence at that time visited Sir William Hamilton, and marked the progress of his discoveries, and among the rest Monsieur Sausure, professor of natural history at Geneva, who accompanied him in his investigations, and acceded to the arguments he derived from them. During the course of his communications to the Royal Society, it was the fortune of the author to have an opportunity of witnessing Vesuvius in eruption.

In October, 1767, occurred the eruption which is considered to have been the twenty-seventh from that which in the days of Titus destroyed Herculaneum and Pompei. The mountain was visited by Hamilton and a party of his friends during this interesting scene, which has afforded material for one of the most graphic of his communications. But a grander scene of devastation attracted his attention in October, 1779, when the unfortunate inhabitants of Ottaviano had reason to dread the fate described by Pliny. Of this memorable eruption our author transmitted an account to Sir Joseph Banks, which he afterwards published as a supplement to his "*Campi Phlegreæi*."

Previously to the period of the last event we have mentioned, the subject of our memoir was connected with the preparation of another great work, for which the world has incurred to him a debt of gratitude. He had made a vast collection of Etruscan antiquities—vases, statues, and fresco paintings, partly dug from the earth, and partly purchased from the museums of the decayed nobility, among which was that great collection now deposited in the British museum, which had belonged to the senatorial house of Porcinari. Of the most precious of these remains of antiquity, Hamilton allowed the adventurer D'Hancerville, to publish illustrated plates, liberally allowing the artist to appropriate the whole profits of the work. "Long since," he says "Mr Hamilton had taken pleasure in collecting those precious monuments, and had afterwards trusted them to him for publication, requiring only some elegance in the execution, and the condition, that the work should appear under the auspices of his Britannic majesty." The work accordingly was published at Naples, under the title of "*Antiquites Etrusques, Greques, et Romaines*." The abbe Winckelman mentions, that two volumes of this work were published in 1765, and two others the year following. Along with the author of a notice of Sir William Hamilton's *Life*, which appeared in Baldwin's *Literary Journal*, we have been unable to discover a copy of the two former volumes of this work, or to find any reference to them on which we can repose trust, nor do we perceive that the two latter volumes bear the marks of being a continuation, and neither of the after editions of Paris, 1787, and Florence, 1801 and 1808, which might have informed us on this subject, are at present accessible to us. The two volumes we have mentioned as having seen, contain general remarks on the subjects of the plates, in English and French, which both the imaginative matter, and the language, show to have been translated from the latter language into the former. The plates, by far the most valuable part of the work, introduced a new spirit into the depiction of the useful remains of antiquity, which enabled the artist who wished to imitate them, to have as correct an idea of the labours of the ancients, as if the originals were before him. The terra-cotta vases predominate; some of these are votive offerings—others have been adapted for use. A general view of the form of each is given, with a measurement, along with which there is a distinct fac-simile of the paintings which so frequently occur on these beautiful pieces of pottery; the engraving is bold and accurate, and the colouring true to the original. This work has been the means of adding the bold genius of classic taste to modern accuracy and skill in workmanship. From the painter

and statuary, to the fabricator of the most grotesque drinking cup, it has afforded models to artists, and is confidently asserted to have gone far in altering and improving the general taste of the age. During the exertions we have been commemorating, Hamilton was in the year 1772, created a knight of the Bath, a circumstance which will account for our sometimes varying his designation, as the events mentioned happened previously to, or after his elevation. The retired philosophical habits of Sir William Hamilton prevented him in the earliest years of his mission from forming intimacies with persons similarly situated, and he lived a life of domestic privacy, study, and observation of nature. But fame soon forced friends on his retirement, and all the eminent persons who visited his interesting neighbourhood became his guests. One of his friends, the French ambassador at the court of Naples, has told us that he protected the arts because the arts protected him, and enriched him. The motives of the characteristic may be doubted. A love of art fascinates even mercenary men into generosity, and the whole of Sir William Hamilton's conduct shows a love of art, and a carelessness of personal profit by his knowledge, not often exhibited. Duclos, secretary of the French academy, on visiting Naples, has drawn an enthusiastic picture of the felicity then enjoyed by Sir William Hamilton—his lady and himself in the prime of life, his daughter just opening to womanhood, beauty, and accomplishments; the public respect paid to his merits, and the internal peace of his amiable family; but this state of things was doomed to be sadly reversed. In 1775, Sir William lost his only daughter, and in 1782, he had to deplore the death of a wife who had brought him competence and domestic peace. After an absence of twenty years, he revisited Britain in 1784. The purpose of this visit is whispered to have been that he might interfere with an intended marriage of his nephew, Mr Greville, to Miss Emma Hart. If such was his view, it was fulfilled in a rather unexpected manner. It is at all times painful to make written reference to those private vices, generally suspected and seldom proved, the allusion to which usually receives the name of "scandal;" but in the case of the second lady Hamilton, they have been so unhesitatingly and amply detailed by those who have chosen to record such events, and so complacently received by the lady herself and her friends, that they must be considered matters of history, which no man will be found chivalrous enough to contradict. This second Theodosia passed the earlier part of her life in obscurity and great indigence, but soon showed that she had various ways in which she might make an independent livelihood. Some one who has written her memoirs, has given testimony to the rather doubtful circumstance, that her first act of infamy was the consequence of charitable feeling, which prompted her to give her virtue in exchange for the release of a friend who had been impressed. Be this as it may, she afterwards discovered more profitable means of using her charms. At one time she was a comic actress—at another, under the protection of some generous man of fashion; but her chief source of fame and emolument seems to have been her connexion with Romney and the other great artists of the day, to whom she seems to have furnished the models of more goddesses than classic poets ever invented. Mr Greville, a man of accurate taste, had chosen her as his companion, and the same principles of correct judgment which regulated his choice probably suggested a transference of his charge to the care of Sir William Hamilton. His own good opinion of her merits, and the character she had received from his friend, prompted Sir William soon after to marry this woman, and she took the title of lady Hamilton in 1791. At that time both returned to Britain, where Sir William attempted in vain to procure for his fair but frail bride, an introduction to the British court, which might authorize, according to royal etiquette, her presentation at

the court of Naples. But this latter was found not so difficult a barrier as that which it was considered necessary to surmount before attempting it. The beauty and, perhaps, the engaging talents of lady Hamilton procured for her notoriety, and notoriety brings friends. She contrived to be essentially useful, and very agreeable, to the king and queen of the Sicilies; and procured for herself their friendship, and for her husband additional honour. Her connection with lord Nelson, and the manner in which she did the state service, are too well known; but justice, on passing speedily over the unwelcome subject, cannot help acknowledging that she seems here to have felt something like real attachment. The latter days of this woman restored her to the gloom and obscurity of her origin. She made ineffectual attempts after the death of her husband to procure a pension from government. Probably urged by necessity, she insulted the ashes of the great departed, by publishing her correspondence with lord Nelson, followed by a denial of her accession to the act, which did not deceive the public. She died at Calais in February, 1815, in miserable obscurity and debt, without a friend to follow her to the grave, and those who took an interest in the youthful daughter of Nelson, with difficulty prevented her from being seized, according to a barbarous law, for the debts of her mother.

But we return with pleasure to the more legitimate object of our details. There was one subject of importance on which some prejudices on the part of the Sicilian government, prevented Sir William Hamilton from acquiring that knowledge which he thought might be interesting and useful to his country. A chamber in the royal museum of Portici had been set aside for containing the manuscripts, of which a small collection had been found in an edifice in P'ompeii; and on the discovery that these calcined masses were genuine manuscripts of the days of Pliny, the greatest curiosity was manifested to acquire a knowledge of their contents. The government was assailed by strangers for the watchfulness with which these were kept from their view, and the little exertion which had been bestowed in divulging their contents: the latter accusation was perhaps scarcely just; some venerable adherents of the church of Rome did not hesitate to spend months of their own labour, in exposing to the world the sentences which an ancient Roman had taken a few minutes to compose. The public were soon made sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be disappointed at the exposure of a few sentences of the vilest of scholastic stuff; and the narrow-mindedness of which Sir William Hamilton had to complain, has been since discontinued, and England has had an opportunity of showing her skill in the art of unrolling papyrus. To acquire the information, for which he found the usual means unavailing, Sir William Hamilton entered into an agreement with father Anthony Piaggi, a Piarist monk, the most diligent of the decyphers, by which, in consideration of a salary of £100, the latter was to furnish the former with a weekly sheet of original information, which, to avoid ministerial detection, was to be written in cipher. The contract seems to have been executed to the satisfaction of both parties, and Sir William procured for father Anthony an addition to his salary, equal to the sum at which it was originally fixed; and on the death of the father in 1798, he bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to his patron. Sir William Hamilton, on his visit to Britain in 1791, was created a privy councillor.—The circumstances which in 1798 compelled him to accompany the Sicilian court to Palermo, are matter of history, and need not be here repeated.—In the year 1800, he left Sicily, and soon afterwards, accompanied by captain Leake, and lieutenant Hayes, undertook a journey through Egypt, visiting and describing with great minuteness the city of Thebes, and the other well-known parts of that interesting country. The notes collected by him on this occasion were published after his death in the year 1809, under the title

"*Egyptiaca, or Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt, as obtained in the years 1801 and 1802, by William Hamilton, F. A. S.*"—"This work," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "will be found an excellent supplement to the more elaborate and costly work of Denon. His style is in general simple and unaffected; and therefore, loses nothing, in our opinion, when compared with that of some of the travellers who have gone before him." Sir William Hamilton died in April, 1803, in the 72nd year of his age. His death deprived the world of two great works which he hoped to have lived to prepare, on the subject of the museum of Portici.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated surgeon, and lecturer on anatomy and chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This meritorious individual was unfortunately cut off from the world too early in life, and too suddenly, to be enabled to give to the world those works on his favourite science, on which he might have founded his fame, and the circle of his influence and renown was hardly so extensive as to attract the attention of posterity; but a tribute to his memory, in the form of a memoir of his life, and remarks on his professional acquirements, read by his friend professor Cleghorn to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> and inserted in the transactions of that eminent body, justifies us in enumerating him among distinguished Scotsmen. William Hamilton was born in Glasgow, on the 31st July, 1758. His father was Thomas Hamilton, a respectable surgeon in Glasgow, and professor of anatomy and botany in that university; and his mother, daughter to Mr Anderson, professor of church history in the same institution. He followed the usual course of instruction in the grammar school and college of his native city, from which latter he took the degree of master of arts in 1775, at the age of seventeen. Being supposed to show an early predilection for the medical profession, he proceeded to Edinburgh, then at the height of its fame as a school for that science, where he studied under Cullen and Black, the early friends of his father. The bad health of his father recalled the young physician after two sessions spent in Edinburgh, and both proceeded on a tour to Bath, and thence to London, where the son was left to pursue his studies, with such an introduction to the notice of Dr William Hunter, as a schoolfellow acquaintanceship between his father and that distinguished man warranted. The prudence, carefulness, and regularity of the young man's conduct, while surrounded by the splendour and temptation of the metropolis, have been commended by his friends; these praiseworthy qualities, joined to a quick perception on professional subjects, and an anxiety to perfect himself in that branch of his profession which calls for the greatest zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the medical student, attracted the attention of his observing friend. He was requested to take up his residence in Dr Hunter's house, and finally was trusted with the important charge of the dissecting room, a valuable, and probably a delightful duty. He seems to have secured the good opinion he had gained, by his performance of this arduous and important function. "I see and hear much of him," says Dr Hunter, in his correspondence with the young man's father, "and every body regards him as sensible, diligent, sober, and of amiable dispositions."—"From being a favourite with every body, he has commanded every opportunity for improvement, which this great town afforded, during his stay here; for every body has been eager to oblige and encourage him. I can depend so much on him, in every way, that if any opportunity should offer of serving him, whatever may be in my power, I shall consider as doing a real pleasure to myself." Such were the character and prospects of one, who, it is to be feared, was then nourishing by too intense study the seeds of dissolution in a naturally feeble constitution. Soon after, the father's state of health

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 35, read 6th November, 1792.

imperiously requiring an assistant in his lectures, the son undertook that duty, and in 1781, on his father's final resignation, was nominated his successor, a circumstance which enabled his kind friend Dr Hunter to fulfill his former promise, by stating to the marquis of Graham, that he considered it "the interest of Glasgow to *give him*, rather than his to solicit the appointment." The father died in 1782, and the son was then left the successor to his lucrative and extensive practice, in addition to the duties of the university. During the short period of his enjoyment of these desirable situations, he received from the poorer people of Glasgow, the character, seldom improperly bestowed, of extending to them the assistance, which a physician of talent can so well bestow. He kept for the purpose of his lectures, and for his own improvement, a regular note-book of cases, which he summed up in a tabular digest at the termination of each year. Of these notes, he had before his death commenced such an arrangement as would enable him to form from them a system of surgery which he intended to have published. Some extracts from this collection are preserved by the biographer we have mentioned, as characteristics of the style of his composition, and the extent of his observation. In 1783, he married Miss Elizabeth Stirling, a lady accomplished, and of good connexions in Glasgow. Within a very few years after this event, the marked decay of his constitution alarmed his friends, and his knowledge as a physician enabled him to assure himself that death was steadily approaching. He died on the 13th day of March, 1790, in the 32d year of his age. Few, even of those who have departed in the pride of life—in the enjoyment of talents, hopes, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. His manner as a public instructor is thus described by Mr Cleghorn: "As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless, that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement, or the abundance of figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures, and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, as his preceptor Dr Hunter did before him, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, was the second son of James Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour, advocate, and was born at Bangour in 1704. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Little Earnock in Ayrshire; his great-grandfather James Hamilton, (second son of John Hamilton of Little Earnock,) being the founder of the family of Bangour. On the death of his brother (who married Elizabeth Dalrymple) without issue, in 1750, the subject of this memoir succeeded to the estate. Born in elevated circumstances and in polished society, Mr Hamilton received all the accomplishments which a liberal education, with these advantages, could afford; and although exposed, as all young persons of his rank usually are, to the light dissipations of gay life, he resisted every temptation, and in a great measure dedicated his time to the improvement of his mind. The state of his health, which was always delicate, and his natural temperament, leading him to prefer privacy and study to mixing frequently in society, he early acquired a taste for literature, and he soon obtained a thorough and extensive acquaintance with the best authors, ancient and modern. The leaning of his mind was towards poetry, and he early composed many pieces of distinguished merit. Encouraged by the approbation of his friends, as well as conscious of his own powers, he was easily induced to persevere in the cultivation of his poetic powers. Many of his

songs breathe the true spirit of Scottish melody, especially his far-famed "Braes of Yarrow."

Thus in calm retirement, and in the pursuit of knowledge, his life might have passed serenely, undisturbed by the calls of ambition or the toils and alarms of war, had it not been for the ill-judged but chivalrous attempt of an adventurous prince to recover the throne of his ancestors from what was considered the grasp of an usurper. At the commencement of the insurrection of 1745, Mr Hamilton, undeterred by the attainder and exile of his brother-in-law the earl of Carnwath,<sup>1</sup> for his share in the rebellion in 1715, took the side which all brave and generous men of a certain class in those days were apt to take; he joined the standard of prince Charles, and celebrated his first success at Prestonpans in the well-known Jacobite ode of "Gladsmuir." After the battle of Culloden, so disastrous to the prince and his followers, he fled to the mountain and the glen; and there for a time, endured much wandering and many hardships. Finally, however, he succeeded, with some others in the same proscribed situation, in escaping into France. But his exile was short. He had many friends and admirers among the adherents of king George, and through their intercession his pardon was speedily procured from government. He accordingly returned home, and resumed possession of his paternal estate. His health, however, at all times weak, by the hardships he had endured, as well as from his anxiety of mind, had now become doubly so, and required the benefit of a warmer climate. He therefore soon afterwards returned to the continent, and for the latter years of his life, took up his residence at Lyons, where a slow consumption carried him off, on the 25th March, 1754, in the fiftieth year of his age. His corpse was brought to Scotland, and interred in the Abbey church of Holyrood.

Mr Hamilton was twice married, into families of distinction, and by his first lady, a daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, baronet, he had issue one son, James, who succeeded him.

Though Mr Hamilton's works do not place him among the highest class of Scottish poets, he is fully entitled to rank among those of a secondary order. What was much in his favour, certainly not in furtherance of his facility of composition, but as an advantage to his fame, is, that for a whole century previous to the time he began to write, few names of any consequence were known in Scottish poetry. From 1615 till 1715 no poet of any note—except only Drummond and Stirling—had appeared.

From the days of Buchanan, the only other poets we could then boast of, following the example of that leading intellect, had composed in a language utterly opposite to their own, in construction, copiousness, and facility—we mean the Latin: and inferior poets as well as inferior scholars to Hamilton, in compliment to the reigning fashion, continued to use that didactic and difficult language for the expression of their sentiments. Hamilton, therefore, had much to overcome in entering the lists as an original writer in his own language, the elegance, the purity, and the freedom, though perhaps not the force nor the energy, of which he understood so well. He was convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of those authors who preferred composing in a dead language would be utterly unknown to posterity, except perhaps to a few of the literati and the learned. But at the dawn of the eighteenth century the scholastic spell was at length broken, and Hamilton and Ramsay were among the first who gave utterance to their feelings, the one in English and the other in his native Scottish dialect; and this perhaps, even to the present day constitutes the principal cause of their fame. It may safely be asserted that in the works of Hamilton and Ramsay there is more genuine poetry, than in the works of the whole century of

<sup>1</sup> The earl married, as his third wife, Margaret, the poet's sister.



Latin poets who preceded them; though this may be denied by those classic readers, who are still in the habit of poring into the lucubrations of those authors, the greater part of whom have long ceased to be known to the general reader, while the works of Hamilton and Ramsay are still read and admired.

Mr Hamilton's poems were first published by Foulis, at Glasgow, in 1748, 12mo, and afterwards reprinted; but this volume was a pirated publication, and appeared not only without his name, but without his consent, and even without his knowledge; and as might have been expected, it abounded in errors. He was then abroad, and it was thought the appearance of that collection would have produced from him a more perfect edition: but though on his return he corrected many errors, and considerably enlarged some of the poems, he did not live to furnish a new and complete edition. It remained therefore for his friends, after his death, to publish from his original manuscripts the first genuine and correct collection of his works. It appeared in one volume small 8vo, at Edinburgh, in 1760, with a head by Strange, who had been a fellow adventurer with him in the cause of prince Charles.

This volume did not at first attract any particular notice, and his poems were rapidly fading from public remembrance, when an attempt was made by the late professor Richardson of Glasgow, to direct the attention of the public to his merits. In a very able criticism from the pen of that gentleman which appeared in the *Lounger*, among other observations no less just, the following formed one of his principal remarks: "The poems of Hamilton display regular design, just sentiments, fanciful invention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth versification." Mr Richardson then enters into an analysis of Hamilton's principal poem of "Contemplation," or "the Triumph of Love." He descants chiefly on the quality of fanciful invention, as being the principal characteristic of poetical composition. He says "that Mr Hamilton's imagination is employed among beautiful and engaging, rather than among awful and magnificent images, and even when he presents us with dignified objects, he is more grave than lofty, more solemn than sublime."—"It is not asserted," continues Mr Richardson, in illustrating the 'pleasing sensibility' he ascribes to Hamilton, "that he displays those vehement tumults and ecstasies of passion that belong to the higher kind of lyric and dramatic composition. He is not shaken with excessive rage, nor melted with overwhelming sorrow; yet when he treats of grave or affecting subjects, he expresses a plaintive and engaging softness. He is never violent and abrupt, and is more tender than pathetic. Perhaps '*The Braes of Yarrow*,' one of the finest ballads ever written, may put in a claim to superior distinction. But even with this exception, I should think our poet more remarkable for engaging tenderness than for deep and affecting pathos. In like manner, when he expresses the joyful sentiments, or describes scenes and objects of festivity, which he does very often, he displays good humour and easy cheerfulness, rather than the transports of mirth or the brilliancy of wit."

Mr Richardson, in illustration of these characteristics, quotes some passages which convey the most favourable impression of Mr Hamilton's poetical powers.

Mr M'Kenzie, the ingenious editor of the *Lounger*, enforced the judgment pronounced by Mr Richardson, in a note, in which he not only fully agrees with him, but even goes farther in Mr Hamilton's praise. Lord Woodhouselee was also among the first to acknowledge his excellence and vindicate his fame. He thus speaks of Mr Hamilton in his life of lord Kames, "Mr Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses. They are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress: but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and

made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his contemporaries, from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex, by name. There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record."

These authorities in Hamilton's favour are high and powerful, and it might have been expected that, with his own merits, they might have obtained for him a greater share of popularity than has fallen to his lot: but notwithstanding these and other no less favourable testimonies, the attention of the public was never steadily fixed upon his works. And although they have been inserted in Johnson and Chalmers' edition of the English poets, there has been no demand for a separate edition; nor is Hamilton among those writers, whom we often bear quoted by the learned or the gay.

As a first adventurer in English literature, rejecting altogether the scholastic school of poetry, Mr Hamilton must be allowed to have obtained no ordinary success. In his language he shows nearly all the purity of a native; his diction is various and powerful, and his versification but rarely tainted with provincial errors. He delights indeed in a class of words, which though not rejected by the best English writers, have a certain insipidity which only a refined English ear, perhaps, can perceive; such as *beauteous*, *dubious*, *duteous*, and even *melancholious*! The same peculiarity may be remarked of most of the early Scottish writers in the English language. In Thomson it is particularly observable. We also sometimes meet in Hamilton with false quantities; but they seem oftener to proceed from making a Procrustian of a poetic license, than from ignorance or inadvertence, as in the following verse:

"Where'er the beauteous heart-compeller moves,  
She scatters wide perdition all around:  
Blest with celestial form, and crown'd with loves,  
No single breast is refractory found."

If he had made the "refractory" precede the "is," so as to have rendered the latter the penultimate in this line, the euphony and the rhythm would have been complete: but in his days, we believe, this word was accented on the first syllable.

Lord Woodhouselee calls Hamilton's poems the "easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste." This does not quite agree with the "regular design," which Richardson discovers in them; nor indeed with what his lordship himself tells us elsewhere, that "it appears from Hamilton's letters that he communicated his poems to his friends for their critical remarks, and was easily induced to alter or amend them by their advice. "Contemplation," for instance, he sent to Mr Home (lord Kames), with whom he lived in the closest habits of friendship, who suggested some alterations, which were thus acknowledged in a letter from Hamilton, dated July, 1739: "I have made the corrections on the moral part of 'Contemplation,' and in a post I will send it to Will Crawford, who has the rest." Mr Hamilton had evidently too passionate a devotion to the muses, to be careless of his attentions to them. The writing of poetry, indeed, seems to have formed the chief business of his life. Almost the whole of his poems are of an amatory cast; and even in his more serious pieces, a tone of love, like a thread of silver, runs through them. It would seem, however, that to him love, with all its pangs, was only a poet's dream. Perhaps the following is the best illustration of the caprice and inconstancy of his affection. In a letter to Mr Home, dated September, 1748, in answer to one from that gentleman regarding some remarks on Horace, of the same tenor, it would appear, as those which he afterwards published in his *Elements of Criticism*, Mr

Hamilton after alluding to these remarks thus questions himself: "Why don't I rest contented with the small, perhaps, but sincere portion of that happiness furnished me *by my poetry*, and a few friends? Why concern myself to please *Jeanie Stewart*, or vex myself about that happier man, to whom the lottery of life may have assigned her. *Qui fit, Mæcenas, qui fit?* Whence comes it. Alas whence indeed?

' Too long by love, a wandering fire, misled,  
My better days in vain delusion fled:  
Day after day, year after year, withdrew,  
And beauty blest the minutes as they flew;  
Those hours consumed in joy, but lost to fame,  
With blushes I review, but dare not blame;  
A fault which easy pardon might receive,  
Did lovers judge, or could the wise forgive:  
But now to wisdom's healing springs I fly,  
And drink oblivion of each charming eye:  
To love revolted, quit each pleasing care,  
Whate'er was witty, or whate'er was fair.'

I am yours, &c."

The "*Jeanie Stewart*" above alluded to complained to Mr Home, that she was teased with Mr Hamilton's continually dangling after her. She was convinced, she said, that his attentions to her had no serious aim, and she hinted an earnest wish to get rid of him. "You are his friend," she added, "tell him he exposes both himself and me to the ridicule of our acquaintance."—"No, madam," said Mr Home, who knew how to appreciate the fervour of Mr Hamilton's passion, "you shall accomplish his cure yourself, and by the simplest method. Dance with him to-night at the assembly, and show him every mark of your kindness, as if you believed his passion sincere, and had resolved to favour his suit. Take my word for it, you'll hear no more of him." The lady adopted the counsel, and she had no reason to complain of the success of the experiment.<sup>1</sup>

In poetry, however, no one could paint a warmer love, or breathe a fiercer flame. In some rather conceited lines, "upon hearing his picture was in a lady's breast," he chides it for

"Engrossing all that beauteous heaven,  
That Chloe, lavish maid, has given;"

And then passionately exclaims, that, if he were the lord of that bosom—

"I'd be a miser too, nor give  
An alms to keep a god alive."

A noble burst of fancy and enthusiasm! A most expressive image of the boundless avarice of love.

Of Mr Hamilton's poems not devoted to love, the most deserving of notice is "*The Episode of the Thistle*," which appears intended as part of a larger work never completed, called "*The Flowers*." It is an ingenious attempt, by a well devised fable, to account for the selection of the thistle, as the national emblem of Scotland. The blank verse which he has chosen for this uncomplete poem, does not seem to have been altogether adapted to his powers; yet, on reading

<sup>1</sup> "*Bonnie Jeanie Stewart of Torsonce*," as she was here fully described in ordinary parlance, married the earl of Dundonald, and was mother of the late ingenious earl, so distinguished by his scientific investigations, and by the generally unfortunate tenor of his life.

the piece, we were equally surprised and pleased with the felicity and modulation of its language.

The only poem which Mr Hamilton wrote in his native dialect was the "Braes of Yarrow," which has been almost universally acknowledged to be one of the finest ballads ever written. But Mr Pinkerton, whose opinion of the ancient ballad poetry of Scotland has always had considerable weight, has passed a different judgment on it. "It is," says he, "in very bad taste, and quite unlike the ancient Scottish manner, being even inferior to the poorest of the old ballads with this title. His repeated words and lines causing an eternal jingle, his confused narration and affected pathos, throw this piece among the rubbish of poetry." The jingle and affected pathos of which he complains are sometimes indeed sickening.

"Lang maun she weep, lang maun she, maun she weep,  
Lang maun she weep with dule and sorrow," &c.  
"Then build, then build, ye sisters, sisters sad,  
Ye sisters sad, his tomb with sorrow," &c.

On the other hand, the isolated condemnation of Mr Pinkerton must be allowed to have little weight against the interest with which this poem has so significantly impressed Mr Wordsworth, as appears from his beautiful poems of "Yarrow Unvisited" and "Yarrow Visited."

There exists in manuscript another fragmentary poem by Mr Hamilton, called the "Maid of Gallowshiels." It is an epic of the heroi-comic kind, intended to celebrate the contest between a piper and a fiddler for the fair Maid of Gallowshiels. Mr Hamilton had evidently designed to extend it to twelve books, but has only completed the first and a portion of the second. Dr Leyden, who owns himself indebted to the friendship of Dr Robert Anderson for his knowledge of this MS., gives the following account of it in his preface to the "Complaynt of Scotland." "In the first (book) the fiddler challenges the piper to a trial of musical skill, and proposes that the maid herself should be the umpire of the contest.

'Sole in her breast, the favourite he shall reign  
Whose hand shall sweetest wake the warbled strain;  
And if to me th' ill-fated piper yield,  
As sure I trust, this well-contested field;  
High in the sacred dome his pipes I'll raise,  
The trophy of my fame to after days;  
That all may know, as they the pipes survey,  
The fiddler's deed, and this the signal day.

All Gallowshiels the darling challenge heard,  
Full blank they stood, and for their piper fear'd:  
Fearless alone he rose in open view,  
And in the midst his sounding bagpipe threw.'

"The history of the two heroes is related with various episodes; and the piper deduces his origin from Colin of Gallowshiels, who bore the identical bagpipe at the battle of Harlaw, with which his descendant resolves to maintain the glory of the piper race. The second book, the subject of which is the trial of skill, commences with the following exquisite description of the bagpipe:

'Now, in his artful hand the bagpipe held,  
Elate, the piper wide surveys the field;  
O'er all he throws his quick-discerning eyes,  
And views their hopes and fears alternate rise;

Old Glenderule, in Gallowahle long fam'd  
 For works of skill, this perfect wonder fram'd ;  
 His shining steel first lopp'd, with dexterous toil,  
 From a tall spreading elm the branchy spoil ;  
 The clouded wood, he next divides in twain,  
 And smoothes them equal to an oval plain ;  
 Six leather folds in still connected rows  
 To either plank conform'd, the sides compose ;  
 The wimble perforates the base with care,  
 A destin'd passage opening to the air :  
 But once inclosed within the narrow space,  
 The opposing valve forbids the backward race ;  
 Fast to the swelling bag, two reeds combin'd,  
 Receive the blasts of the melodious wind ;  
 Round from the twining loom, with skill divine,  
 Embost, the joints in silver circles shine ;  
 In secret prison pent, the accents lie,  
 Untill his arm the lab'ring artist ply :  
 Then, duteous, they forsake their dark abode,  
 Felons no more, and wing a separate road ;  
 These upward through the narrow channel glide,  
 In ways unseen, a solemn murmuring tide :  
 Those through the narrow part their journey bend,  
 Of sweeter sort, and to the earth descend ;  
 O'er the small pipe at equal distance lie,  
 Eight shining holes, o'er which his fingers fly ;  
 From side to side the aerial spirit bounds,  
 The flying fingers form the passing sounds,  
 That, issuing gently through each polish'd door,  
 Mix with the common air, and charm no more."

" This poem, however, does not seem ever to have been corrected, and the extracts we have given are from the first rude draft of it. It would be unfair, therefore, to consider it as a test of Mr Hamilton's powers, though had he lived to complete it, we do not doubt, from the germs of excellence it evinces, but that it would have been a fitter criterion than any other of his works."

Mr Hamilton's poems, notwithstanding the melody of his numbers and the gayety of his fancy, bear all the marks of studious productions ; and the ease which they undoubtedly possess, is the ease resulting from elaboration and art. To this, in a great measure, his circumstantiality of painting is to be attributed.

The measure which Mr Hamilton was most partial to, is the *octo-syllabic* ; and certainly this being the smoothest and most euphonious, it best suited the refinement of his mind. He sometimes, however, attempted the *deca-syllabic* measure ; but here, as in his soaring to a greater height in his subjects, he did not succeed so well. His blank verse, like his conception, is without grandeur—without ease—without dignity : it is surcharged, rugged, and verbose. Of this he was himself aware, for he seldom attempted to clothe his sentiments in the style which was perfected by Milton and Shakspeare.

Mr Hamilton's amatory poetry abounds with " quaint conceits," and pleasing fancies : for example, in dedicating " Contemplation" to a young lady, speaking of the effects of unsuccessful love, he says,

" Gloomy and dark the prospect round appears ;  
 Doubts spring from doubts, and fears engender fears,

Hope after hope goes out in endless night,  
 And all is anguish, torture, and affright.  
 Oh ! beautiful friend, a gentler fate be thine ;  
 Still may thy star with mildest influence shine ;  
 May heaven surround thee with peculiar care,  
 And make thee happy, as it made thee fair."

Again, speaking of mutual affection, he calls it

" A mutual warmth that glows from breast to breast,  
 Who loving is belov'd, and blessing blest."

Can any thing be finer than the following couplet, with which he concludes an ardent aspiration for her happiness ! " Such," he says, " be thy happy lot," is the fond wish of him,

" Whose faithful muse inspir'd the pious prayer,  
 And wearied heaven to keep thee in its care."

The poem of " Contemplation" itself is full of beauties. Among his odes there is one " to fancy," in which his lively imagination and exquisite delicacy of sentiment, shine out to the greatest advantage. His descriptions of female loveliness are worthy of the subject—they are characterized by sweetness, beauty, and truth. What can surpass this image ?

" Her soul, awak'ning every grace,  
 Is all abroad upon her face ;  
 In bloom of youth still to survive,  
 All charms are there, and all alive."

And in recording in his verses the name and the beauty of another of his mistresses, he says that " his song " will " make her live beyond the grave :"

" Thus Hume shall unborn hearts engage,  
 Her smile shall warm another age."

But with all this praise of his quieter and more engaging style, we must admit that his poems, even the most perfect, abound in errors. Many of his questions are very strange, nay some of them ludicrous :

" Ah ! when we see the bad preferr'd,  
 Was it eternal justice err'd."

" Or when the good could not prevail,  
 How could almighty prowess fail ?"

" When time shall let his curtain fall,  
 Must dreary nothing swallow all ?"

" Must we the unfinish'd piece deplore,  
 Ere half the pompous piece be o'er."

What is the meaning of these questions, or have they any ?

Mr Hamilton's correspondence with his friends was varied and extensive, but seldom very important. He wrote for writing's sake, and his letters, therefore, are just so many little pieces of friendly gossip. Of those poets who were his contemporaries, or who immediately succeeded him, some have taken notice of him in their works. The most distinguished of those is the unfortunate Ferguson, who in his " Hame Content," thus alludes to Hamilton on his death :

" O Bangour ! now the hills and dales,  
 Nae mair gie back thy tender tales ;

The birks on Yarrow now deplore,  
 Thy mournful muse has left the shore ;  
 Near what bright burn, or chrystal spring,  
 Did you your winsome whistle hing ?  
 The Muse shall there, wi' wat'ry e'e,  
 Gie the dank swaird a tear for thee ;  
 And Yarrow's genius, dowy dame !  
 Shall there forget her blood-stain'd stream,  
 On thy sad grave to seek repose,  
 Wha mourn'd her fate, condol'd her woes."

Mr Hamilton of *Bangour* is sometimes mistaken for and identified with another poet of the same name, William Hamilton of *Gilbertfield* in Lanarkshire, a lieutenant in the navy, who was the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and the modernizer of Blind Harry's poem of Wallace. The compositions of this gentleman display much beauty, simplicity, and sweetness ; but he is neither so well known, nor entitled to be so, as the "Bard of Yarrow."

Mr Hamilton's private virtues were no less eminent than his poetical abilities. His piety, though fervent, was of that quiet and subdued cast that "does good by stealth, and blushes to find it fame." His manners were accomplished—indeed so much so, as to earn for him the title of "the elegant and amiable William Hamilton of Bangour."<sup>1</sup>

HART, ANDREW, deserves a place in this record, as one of the most distinguished of our early typographers. He flourished in the reign of James VI. Previous to 1600, he was in the habit of importing books from abroad ; he was at this time exclusively a bookseller. From a mere bookseller he seems to have gradually become a publisher : several books were printed in Holland about the years 1600 and 1601, "at his expense." Finally, he added the business of printing to his other dealings. The productions of his press specify that his shop was in the High Street of Edinburgh, on the north side, opposite the cross ; being, by a strange chance, the identical spot, from which Mr Archibald Constable, two hundred years after, issued so many noble efforts of Scottish genius. Hart's edition of the Bible, 1610, has always been admired for its fine typography. He also published a well-known edition of Barbour's *Bruce*. In addition to all other claims upon our praise, Hart was a worthy man. He died in a good old age, December, 1621, as we learn from a notice in Boyd of *Trechrig's Obituary*, quoted below.<sup>2</sup>

HENRY, the minstrel, more commonly styled BLIND HARRY, was a wandering poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote a well-known narrative of the life of Sir William Wallace.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honoured, although at a late period it fell into discredit. HENRY THE MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession ; for in the Scottish laws of his own time, we find *bards* classed with "*vagabondia, fuille, and sic like idill peopill* ;" but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major, that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript, containing many poems by Hamilton which never saw the light, was in the possession of the late George Chalmers, Esq. author of "*Caledonia*." A list of them is given in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, vol. iii., where a portrait of Mr Hamilton has also been given.

<sup>2</sup> Le moy de Dec. 1621, mourut à Edin. le bon homme, Andrew Hart, imprimeur et libraire ; décidé en bonne vieillesse ; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.

poetical narratives before them. Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of, when it is known, that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence. "Integrum librum Gulliemi Vallacei Henricus, a natiuitate luminibus captus, meæ infantie tempore cudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur, carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit; (ego autem talibus scriptis scilum in parte fidem impertior;) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat nactus est."<sup>1</sup>—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole *book of William Wallace*; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment."

Brief, however, as this passage is, we gather from it the principal points of Henry's life—namely, that he was born blind—that he was well skilled in vernacular poetry—that he composed the book of William Wallace—and that by reciting it he procured food and raiment. The passage, also, is the only source from which we can learn the date of the poem or the period when its author flourished. Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of William Wallace was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this, regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man," says Mr Ellis,<sup>2</sup> *born blind* should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country." The question of what a man *might* have been under certain circumstances, is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the *soul* of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or frame-work of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer. Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he *once* saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced, to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow creatures. Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure. With all this, the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In an historical light,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Specimens of Early English Poets," vol. i.



doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms; the narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written, in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the *invention* at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities. His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable. In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity—capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render "The Bruce" as much a philosophical history as a poem.<sup>3</sup>

HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, one of the most eminent of the many eminent men whose names are interwoven with the annals of Scotland at probably the most interesting period of her history, (the middle of the 17th century,) was born about the year 1583. He is supposed to have been descended from the Hendersons of Fordel, "a house," says Wodrow, "of good quality in Fife." Of his early life there is little farther known than that he was distinguished for his assiduity and progress in learning, in which he greatly excelled all his school fellows. Having been sent to the university of St Andrews to complete his studies, he there went through the ordinary routine of learning, but with much more than ordinary reputation, a circumstance sufficiently evinced by his having been made master of arts, and soon after admitted regent or professor of philosophy. As this appointment took place previous to the year 1611, when he could not be more than eight and twenty years of age, it is evident that Henderson was already considered a man of no common attainments. The situation of professor of philosophy he held for several years, discharging its duties with a zeal and ability which acquired him much reputation.

It is not surprising to find, that at this period of his life he was a strenuous advocate for the dominant or episcopal party in the church. His patrons hitherto were of that party. He had long associated with men who entertained its principles, and, unable to foresee the great changes which were about to take place in the civil and religious polity of the kingdom, as well as that which afterwards happened in his own private sentiments, he naturally enough, while perfectly sincere in the opinions which he then entertained on religious matters, conceived besides, that in the direction of these opinions, and in that direction alone, lay the road to preferment. Inspired by the ambition of a mind conscious of its powers, Henderson, after the lapse of a few years, becoming impatient of the circumscribed sphere to which a professorship of philosophy confined

<sup>3</sup> In his work, entitled "Lives of Scottish Worthies," Mr P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigations, that the minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian. "I am persuaded," says Mr Tytler, "that Wallace is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which show a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in modern times, and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance." The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry's statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.

him, turned his attention to divinity, as opening a wider field for the exercise of his talents.

After preparing himself for the ministerial calling, he was appointed to the church of Leuchars, in Fife, through the patronage of archbishop Gladstones. His appointment, however, was exceedingly unpopular: all his talents and learning could not reconcile his parishioners to a man introduced amongst them by episcopal influence, and who was known to be himself of that detested party. The consequence was, that on the day of his ordination he was received with every mark of popular dislike. The church doors were shut against him and carefully secured in the inside, to prevent all possibility of admittance. Determined, however, in despite of these very manifest tokens of public feeling, to perform the ceremony of ordination, Henderson's party entered the church by a window, and proceeded with the business of the day.

Whatever were Mr Henderson's other merits, and these were certainly of no ordinary kind, it is known that any extraordinary anxiety about the spiritual interests of his parishioners was not amongst the number. At this period of his life, in short, although not remarkable for the reverse, he seems to have been but slightly impressed with the sacredness of his new calling, and to have taken but little farther interest in matters of religion, than abiding by the general principles in which he had been educated. This conduct, however, and these sentiments were soon to undergo a remarkable change, and that under circumstances in themselves not less remarkable. Having learned that the celebrated Mr Bruce of Kinnaird was to assist at a communion in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Henderson, desirous of hearing the preaching of a man who had long been conspicuous as an opponent of the court measures, and whose fame for peculiar gifts in matters of theology was widely spread, repaired to the church where he was officiating. Not choosing, however, to be recognized, he sought to conceal himself in a dark corner of the building. Bruce, nevertheless, seems to have been aware of his presence; or, if not, there was a singular coincidence in the applicability of the text which he chose, to the remarkable circumstances which attended Henderson's induction to his charge. Be this as it may, the sermon which followed made such a powerful impression upon him as effected an entire change in his religious conduct and sentiments; and from being a careless and indifferent pastor over his flock, and an upholder of a system odious in the highest degree to the people, he became a watchful and earnest minister, and a resolute champion in the cause of presbyterianism.

In three years after his appointment to Leuchars parish, which took place some time previous to the year 1615, Mr Henderson, though sedulous in the discharge of his ministerial duties since the period of his conversion, made no public appearance on the side of that party whose principles he had embraced. The opportunity, however, which was all that was wanting for his making such an appearance, at length presented itself. In August, 1618, the celebrated Five articles of Perth, which occasioned so much clamour in Scotland, from their containing as many points of episcopal worship, which James was desirous of thrusting on the people of that kingdom, having been carried by a packed majority in an assembly held at Perth, Henderson stood among the foremost of those who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the obnoxious measure; and this too, in defiance of the king's utmost wrath, with which all who resisted the adoption of the Five articles were threatened. "In case of your refusal," said the archbishop of St Andrews, addressing the assembled clergymen, "the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority."

Not at all intimidated by this insolent and indecent threat, Henderson with several of his brethren courageously opposed the intended innovations. For this resistance, to which was added a charge of composing and publishing a book against the validity of the Perth assembly, he was with other two ministers summoned in the month of August, 1619, to appear before the court of High Commission in St Andrews. Obeying the summons, Henderson and his brethren presented themselves before the bishops, when the former conducted himself with such intrepidity, and discussed the various matters charged against him and his colleagues with such talent and force of reasoning, that his judges, though they eagerly sought it, could gain no advantage over him, and were obliged to content themselves with threatening, that if he again offended he should be more hardly dealt with. With this intimation Henderson and his friends were dismissed. From this period to the year 1637, he does not appear to have meddled much with any transactions of a public character. During this long period he lived retired, confining his exertions within the bounds of his own parish, in which he found sufficient employment from a careful and anxious discharge of his pastoral duties. Obscure and sequestered, however, as the place of his ministry was, his fame as a man of singular capacity, and as an eloquent and powerful debater, was already abroad and widely known; and when the hour of trial came, these talents were recollected, and their possessor called upon to employ them in the behalf of his religion.

Before, however, resuming the narrative of Mr Henderson's public career, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch of the circumstances which induced him to leave his retirement and to mingle once more in the religious distractions of the times. The unfortunate Charles I. inheriting all the religious as well as political prejudices of his father James VI. had, upon the moment of his accession to the throne, entertained the design of regulating church worship in Scotland by the forms observed in that of England. In this attempt he was only following out an idea of his father's; but what the one with more wisdom had little more than contemplated, the other determined to execute. Unfortunately for Charles he found but too zealous an abettor of his dangerous and injudicious designs in his favourite counsellor in church affairs, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. Encouraged in the schemes of violence which he meditated against the religious principles of Scotland, and urged on to their execution by Laud, Charles, after a series of lesser inroads on the presbyterian mode of worship in Scotland, finally, and with a rash hand fired the train which he had prepared, and by which he set all Scotland in a blaze. This was the imposition of the Liturgy or Service Book on the church of Scotland. This celebrated book, which was principally composed by Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, and Wren, bishop of Norwich, was grounded upon the book of common prayer used in England, but contained, besides, some parts of the catholic ritual, such as the benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, the use of the cacos in baptism and of the ring in the celebration of marriage, the consecration of water at particular times by prayer, with many other ordinances of a similar character. Most of these observances were introduced by Laud when revising the original work. When the book was completed, the king gave instructions to the archbishops and bishops regarding its introduction; and immediately after issued a proclamation requiring his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform to the mode of worship which it enjoined, concluding with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies, between the publication of the injunction and Easter. The book itself, a large folio, was prefaced by a charge from the king, denouncing as rebels all who refused it. To complete the measure of Charles's rashness on the

subject of the service book, it was introduced into Scotland without having been submitted to presbyteries, and without the sanction of the General Assembly.

The consequence of the introduction of the liturgy, aggravated as it was by the manner of its introduction, was, as might have been expected, in the last degree serious and important. The country rose nearly to a man against the popish innovation. In Edinburgh the bishops who presided at the ceremony of its first introduction were mobbed and maltreated : and the ministers everywhere carefully prepared their congregations to resist the obnoxious volume. The whole land, in short, was agitated by one violent commotion, and the minds of men were roused into a state of feverish excitement, which threatened the most serious results. It was at this critical moment that Henderson came again upon the stage. In the same predicament with other clergymen, Henderson was charged to purchase two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. On receiving the charge, Henderson immediately proceeded to Edinburgh and presented a petition to the privy council, representing that the service book had not received the sanction of the General Assembly nor was authorized by any act of parliament ; that the church of Scotland was free and independent, and ought not to be dictated to except through her own pastors, who were the proper and the best judges of what was for her benefit ; that the form of worship received at the Reformation was still sanctioned by the legislature and the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and could not be invaded excepting by the same authority ; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book had occasioned great divisions, and were extremely obnoxious to the people, who had been taught to hold them in abhorrence. This bold statement Henderson concluded by soliciting a suspension of the charge. What hope Henderson entertained that this supplication or rather remonstrance would be formally listened to by the privy council, cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason, however, to conclude, that he possessed any secret intelligence regarding the real dispositions of that body. The credit, therefore, must be awarded him of having come forward on this perilous occasion trusting to the strength of his cause alone, and fully prepared to meet the consequences, whatever they might be, of the step which he had taken. The result was more favourable than probably either Henderson or the country expected. The council granted the suspension required, until the king's further pleasure should be known ; but, for the remuneration of the king's printer, ordained by an express act, as the decision in Henderson's case was of course understood to apply to the whole kingdom, that each parish should provide itself with two copies of the book, but without any injunction to make use of them. The order for reading the liturgy was also suspended, until new instructions on the subject should be received from his majesty. The king's answer, however, to the representations of the privy council, at once overturned all hopes of concession in the matter of the liturgy. Instead of giving way to the general feeling, he repeated, in a still more peremptory manner than at first, his commands that the service book should be read, and farther ordered that no burgh should choose a magistrate which did not conform. This uncompromising and decided conduct on the part of the king was met by a similar spirit on the part of the people, and the path which Henderson had first taken was soon crowded by the highest and mightiest in the land, all pushing onward with the utmost eagerness and zeal to solicit the recall of the obnoxious liturgy, and discovering on each repulse and on the appearance of each successive obstacle to their wishes, a stronger and stronger disposition to have recourse to violence to accomplish their object, if supplication should fail. On the receipt of the king's last communication on the all-engrossing subject of the service book, the nobility, barons, ministers, and

representatives of boroughs, presented a supplication to the privy council, intreating that the matter might be again brought before the king. In this and in all other matters connected with it, Henderson took a leading part: he suggested and directed all the proceedings of the nonconformists; drew up their memorials and petitions, and was, in short, at once the head and right hand of his party, the deviser and executor of all their measures.

The result of this second supplication to the king was as unsatisfactory as the first. The infatuated monarch, urged on by Laud, and in some measure by erroneous impressions regarding the real state of matters in Scotland, still maintained his resolutions regarding the liturgy. He, however, now so far acknowledged the appeals which had been made to him, as to have recourse to evasion instead of direct opposition as at first, a course at all times more dangerous than its opposite; inasmuch, as while it exhibits all the hostility of the latter, it is entirely without its candour, and is destitute of that manfulness and promptitude, which, if it does not reconcile, is very apt to subdue.

In place of giving any direct answer to the supplication of the nobility and barons, the king instructed his privy council in Edinburgh to intimate to the people by proclamation, that there should be nothing regarding church matters treated of in the council for some time, and that, therefore, all persons who had come to Edinburgh on that account, should repair to their homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels, *put to the horn*, and all their movable goods being escheat to the king. This proclamation was immediately followed by another, announcing an intended removal of the court of session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and this again by a third, calling in, for the purpose of being burned, a pamphlet lately published against the service book.

These proclamations, which but too plainly intimated that nothing would be conceded to supplication, and that there was no hope of any change in the sentiments of the king, instantly called forth the most decided expressions of popular resentment and determination. The city was at this moment filled with strangers—noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and commissioners from the different parishes, besides immense numbers of persons of inferior rank, whom curiosity or interest in the engrossing topic of the day, had assembled in the metropolis from all parts of the country. The town, thus surcharged, as it were, with inflammable matter, soon became a scene of violence and insubordination. The leaders of the nonconformists again met in the midst of the storm, and in defiance of the proclamation which enjoined their departure, proceeded to deliberate upon the question of what was next to be done. The result was some farther supplications and petitions to the privy council and to the king. These, however, being still unsuccessful, were followed up some months afterwards by a determination to appeal to the people, to unite them in one common bond, and to make the cause at once and unequivocally, the cause of the whole nation. The leaders resolved to adopt a measure which should involve all in its results, be it for good or for evil; by which, in short, not a leader or leaders, nor a party, but an entire kingdom should stand or fall, by swearing before their God to peril the alternative.

This measure was a renewal of the national covenant of 1580 and 1581, adapted, by changes and additions, to the existing circumstances. The remodeled document was drawn up by Mr Henderson, with the assistance of the celebrated Archibald Johnstone, an advocate, and was first exhibited for signature, February 28th, 1638, in the Grey Friars' church in Edinburgh, where an immense multitude had assembled, for the purpose of hailing the sacred document, and of testifying their zeal in the cause which it was intended to support, by subscribing it. On this occasion Henderson addressed the people with so

much fervour and eloquence, that their feelings, already excited, were wound up to the highest pitch, and a degree of enthusiasm pervaded the multitude which sufficiently assured their leaders of the popularity of their cause. The instrument itself, which was now submitted for signature, was a roll of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches broad; yet such was the general zeal for the covenant, that this immense sheet was in a short time so crowded with names on both sides throughout its whole space, that there was not room latterly for a single additional signature; even the margin was scrawled over with subscriptions, and as the document filled up, the subscribers were limited to the initial letters of their names. Copies were now sent to different parts of the kingdom, and met every where, excepting in three places to be afterwards named, with the same enthusiastic reception which had marked its appearance in Edinburgh, receiving thousands of signatures wherever it was exhibited. The three excepted places were Glasgow, St Andrews, and Aberdeen. In the two former, however, the feeling regarding the covenant amounted to little more than indifference; but in the latter city it was absolutely resisted. Anxious to have the voice of all Scotland with them, and especially desirous that there should not be so important an exception as Aberdeen, the leaders of the covenanters despatched several noblemen and two clergymen, one of whom was Henderson, to that city, to attempt to reclaim it; and this object, chiefly through the powerful eloquence of the subject of this memoir, they accomplished to a very considerable extent, obtaining no less than five hundred signatures, many of them of the highest respectability, immediately after the close of a discourse by Mr Henderson, in which he had urged the most irresistible arguments for the subscribing of the covenant. Mr Henderson was now universally acknowledged as the head of the nonconforming Scottish clergy. On his moderation, firmness, and talent, they reposed their hopes; and to his judgment they left, with implicit confidence, the guidance and direction of their united efforts. Of this feeling towards him they were now about to afford a remarkable proof. The king, though still without any intention of yielding to the demands of the covenanters, having consented that a General Assembly should be held, empowered his commissioner, the marquis of Hamilton, to convoke it. On the second day of the meeting of this celebrated assembly, which sat down at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, Mr Henderson was chosen moderator, without one single dissenting voice. To form a correct idea of the general esteem for his amiable qualities, and the appreciation of his abilities which this appointment implied, it is necessary to consider all the singular and important circumstances connected with it—circumstances which altogether rendered it one of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and hazard. He was, at a moment of the most formidable religious distraction, called upon to preside over an assembly whose decisions were either to allay or to promote that distraction; who were to discuss points of serious difference between their sovereign and the nation; who were to decide, in short, whether the nation was to proclaim open war against their sovereign—a sovereign backed by a nation of much greater power and larger population; an assembly by whose proceedings the religious liberties of the kingdom were either to stand or fall, and one, in consequence, on which the eyes of the whole people were fixed with a gaze of the deepest and most intense interest. Important, however, and responsible as the appointment was, Henderson was found more than equal to it, for he conducted himself on this trying occasion not only with a prudence and resolution which increased the respect and admiration of his own party for his character and talents, but with a forbearance and urbanity which secured him also the esteem of those who were opposed to them. “We have now” said Henderson at the conclusion of the eloquent and impassioned

address which terminated the sittings of the assembly, "we have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite:" a sentence which comprised typically all that had been done and all that would be done in the event of such an attempt being made. Episcopacy was overthrown, the king's authority put at defiance, and such an attitude of hostility to the court assumed as fell short only of a declaration of open war.

Such was the accession of popularity which Henderson's conduct procured him on this occasion, that, a day or two before the rising of the assembly, two supplications were given in from two different places earnestly soliciting his pastoral services, the one from St Andrews, the other from Edinburgh. Henderson himself was extremely unwilling to obey either of these calls. Strongly attached to Leuchars, the charge to which he had been first appointed, and which he had now held for many years, he could not reconcile himself to the idea of a removal, pleading in figurative but highly expressive language, that "he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil." The supplicants, however, with a flattering perseverance pressed their suits, and after a strenuous contest between the two parties who sought his ministry, he acquiesced in a removal to Edinburgh; in favour of which the competition terminated by a majority of seventy-five votes. He only stipulated, that when old age should overtake him, he should be permitted to remove again to a country charge. Soon after his removal to Edinburgh, he was promoted to be, what was then called, first or king's minister. This change, however, in no way abated his zeal in the cause of the covenant; he still continued to be the oracle of his party, and still caused with undisputed and unrivaled influence at the head of the church as now once more reformed.

In the year after his translation to Edinburgh (1639) he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Scottish army, then encamped on Duns Law, to treat with the king, who, with his forces, had taken post at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, within three or four miles of Berwick. During the whole of the various negotiations which took place at this critical and interesting conjuncture, Henderson conducted himself with his usual ability, and moreover with a prudence and candour which did not escape the notice of the king. One of the well known results of these conferences was the meeting in Edinburgh of the General Assembly in the following month of August. On this occasion the earl of Traquair, who was now his majesty's commissioner, was extremely desirous that Mr Henderson should be re-elected moderator, a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by men of all parties. The idea, however, of a constant moderatorship was exceedingly unpopular, and contrary to the constitution of the church; and the suggestion of Traquair was overruled to the entire satisfaction of Mr Henderson himself, who was one of the most strenuous opponents of the proposition. As former moderator, however, he preached to the assembly, and towards the close of his discourse, addressed the earl of Traquair—"We beseech your grace," he said, "to see that Caesar have his own; but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the church of God in this land." He next addressed the members, urging them to persevere in the good cause, but carefully inculcating prudence and moderation in all their doings; for zeal, he said, without these, was "like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder."

On the 31st of the same month, (August,) Mr Henderson was called upon to preside, in his clerical capacity, at the opening of the parliament, and on that occasion delivered a most impressive discourse, in which he treated of the duties and utility of governors with singular ability and judgment.

A proof still more flattering, perhaps, than any he had yet received of the estimation in which his character and talents were held, was afforded him in the following year, (1640.) Previous to this period the college of Edinburgh was without any presiding officer to regulate its affairs, these receiving only such attention as might result from an annual visit of the town council. As this was little more than a visit of ceremony, the system of education, and almost every thing else connected with the university, was in a most deplorable condition. To remedy these evils the town council came to the resolution of having a rector appointed, to be chosen annually, and whose duty it should be to direct all matters connected with the college, to keep an eye on the conduct of the principal and professors, and to superintend the education of the students, and the disposal of the revenues.

To this honourable and highly responsible office Mr Henderson was unanimously elected; an appointment not more indicative of the general opinion entertained of his moral qualities, than of his learning and abilities; for besides the merely legislative duties which were connected with it, the rector, by the constitution of the office, was to be invited by the preses at all solemn meetings of the college, "to go before the rest in all public disputes of philosophy and divinity."

Mr Henderson, notwithstanding his other various and important avocations, discharged the duties of this office with an attention, ability, and judgment, which soon placed the university on a very different footing from what it had hitherto been. He added to and improved its buildings and its approaches, bestowed especial care on the education of candidates for the ministry, instituted a professorship of oriental languages, a department which had previously been greatly neglected, to the serious injury, in particular, of the students of divinity, whose knowledge of the Hebrew was left to be gleaned from one short weekly lecture on that language; and, in short, he overlooked nothing which could contribute to its interests and prosperity. His own personal influence, together with the high respectability which his sagacious administration had procured for the college, was so great, that the citizens of Edinburgh, with a spirit of emulation which was very far from existing before, strove who should most contribute to the accommodation of its members. The consequence of these judicious and important services was, that Mr Henderson was continued, by re-election, in the office of rector till his death.

From these peaceful pursuits Henderson was occasionally directed to take a share in the renewed distractions of the times. The king having refused to ratify some of the points agreed upon at the Birks, both parties again took up arms: Charles denouncing the covenanters as rebels, marched towards Scotland with an army; while the latter, with three or four and twenty thousand men, penetrated into England. Some partial successes of the Scottish army on this occasion, together with some defections in his own, again brought the unfortunate monarch to pacificatory terms with the covenanters. A conference was begun at Rippon, and afterwards, as the king's presence was required in London, transferred to that city. The commissioners who were despatched thither by the covenanters to conclude the conference, took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, and amongst these was Mr Henderson, on whose talents they relied for all the subsidiary efforts which were at once to bring the conference to an issue satisfactory to themselves, and to impress the English with a favour-



able opinion of their cause. Both of these objects they accomplished, and that in no small measure by means of the impressive eloquence and literary talents of Mr Henderson, who, besides exerting himself in the pulpit and elsewhere in forwarding the views of the commissioners by discourses and lectures, wrote also several able tracts and papers which attracted much attention, and produced important effects in favour of the cause which he had come to support.

During Mr Henderson's stay in London on this occasion, he had an interview with the king, by whom he was graciously received. The conference was a private one, and although on the part of Henderson it was sought specially for the purpose of soliciting a favour for the university of Edinburgh, it is not unlikely that it embraced objects of much greater interest. On his return to Edinburgh in July, 1641, having been detained in London nine months, he was again chosen moderator of the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and which had removed thither from St Andrews, where it first met, for the greater conveniency of the nobles who were attending parliament, and, a striking proof of his importance, that it might at this critical period have the advantages of Mr Henderson's services as moderator.

On this occasion Mr Henderson delivered to the assembly a letter from a number of ministers in London, requesting the advice of their Scottish brethren on certain points of church government. In some perplexity they had written, "That almighty God having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of episcopacy, (under which we have so long groaned,) sundry other forms of church government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." Henderson was instructed to reply to this letter. In his answer he expressed, in the name of the assembly, the deep interest which they took in the state of what they called, by a somewhat startling association of words, the kirk of England, and earnestly urged a uniformity in church government throughout Britain. Soon after this (14th August) the unfortunate Charles arrived in Edinburgh. Foreseeing the approaching war between himself and his English parliament, he had come down to Scotland with the humiliating view of paying court to the leaders of the presbyterian body, and of following up, by personal condescensions, the concessions by which he had already recovered, for the time at least, the favour of that party; thus hoping to secure the aid of Scotland when he should be assailed by his subjects at home;—the unhappy monarch's situation thus much resembling that of a bird closely pursued by a hawk, and which, preferring a lesser to a greater evil, flies to man for protection. On this occasion the king appointed Mr Henderson his chaplain, and by this well judged proceeding at once gratified the people, whose favourite preacher he had long been, and not improbably also gratified his own predilection in his favour, resulting from Henderson's temper and moderation in those instances where they had been brought in contact. Henderson constantly attended the king during the time of his residence in Edinburgh, praying every morning and evening before him, and preaching to him in the chapel royal at Holyrood house every Sunday, or standing by his chair when another performed that duty. Henderson, who, although of incorruptible integrity, and a zealous presbyterian, as the share which he took in the struggles of that party sufficiently witness, was yet a mild and humane man, could not help sympathizing with the sorrows of his unfortunate sovereign. The religion of which he was so eminent a professor, taught him to entertain charitable and benevolent feelings toward all mankind, and his was not the disposition to except an humbled and unhappy prince from this universal precept, whatever were the faults which had placed him in these melancholy circumstances. The mild and amiable disposition of the man, too, which frequent interviews must have forced upon Henderson's notice, must

have in some measure obliterated in his mind the errors of the monarch. It was hard, then, that Henderson for this sympathy, for opening his heart to the best feelings of humanity, for practising one of the first and most amiable virtues which the Christian religion teaches and enjoins, should have been, as he was, subjected to the most bitter calumnies on his character and motives. These calumnies affected his pure and generous nature deeply, and in the next assembly he entered into a long and impassioned defence of those parts of his conduct which slander had assailed. His appeal touched the hearts and excited the sympathy of his brethren who assured him of their unshaken confidence in his integrity.

This assurance restored the worthy divine to that cheerfulness of which the injurious reports which had gone abroad regarding him had for some time deprived him. If any thing were wanting to establish Henderson's character for integrity besides the public testimony of his brethren, it is to be found in the opinion of one who widely differed from him regarding the measures of the day, bearing witness that "his great honesty and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted."

In 1642, Mr Henderson conducted the correspondence with England which now took place on the subject of ecclesiastical reformation and union, and was soon after desired to hold himself in readiness with certain other commissioners to proceed to England, in the event of such a proceeding being necessary. After some delay, occasioned by the open rupture which took place between the king and the English parliament, Henderson, with the other commissioners, set out for the sister kingdom. While there he used every effort, but unfortunately to no purpose, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects; he proposed to the king to send the queen to Scotland, with the view of exciting an interest in his behalf. He even went to Oxford, where the king then was, to endeavour to prevail upon him at a personal interview, to make some advances towards a reconciliation, and at the same time to offer him the mediation of Scotland. All his efforts, however, were unavailing; the king, in place of acknowledging error, endeavoured to defend the justice of his cause, and on better grounds expressed high indignation at the interference of the Scots in the church reformation of England. Finding he could be of no further service, Henderson, together with his colleagues, returned to Edinburgh, where his conduct throughout the whole of this delicate mission was pronounced by the General Assembly to have been "faithful and wise." In 1643, he was once more chosen moderator of the General Assembly under peculiar circumstances. This was the presence in that body of the English commissioners sent down to Scotland by the parliament of England, to solicit the aid and counsel of the former in their present emergency. Mr Henderson, with several other commissioners, was soon after sent up to London to attend the celebrated Westminster assembly of divines, to represent in that assembly the church of Scotland, and to procure its assent, with that of both houses of parliament, to the solemn league and covenant, all of which important duties, with the assistance of his colleagues, he discharged with his usual ability and judgment. On this occasion he remained for three years in London, during all which time he was unremittingly employed in assisting the assembly in preparing the public formularies of the religious union between the three kingdoms. In 1645, he was appointed to assist the commissioners of the Scottish and English parliaments to treat with the king at Uxbridge, and finally, was deputed to negotiate with the latter when his fortunes had reached a crisis, at Newcastle. Henderson arrived on his mission at Newcastle about the middle of May, 1646, and met with a cordial reception from his majesty. After some

discussion on religious subjects, it was agreed that the scruples of the king should be treated of in a series of papers written alternately by his majesty and Henderson. In the last of these papers, addressed by the former to the latter, and all of which and on both sides were written with great talent, the king at once expressing his high opinion of Mr Henderson, and his determination to adhere to the sentiments which he had all along entertained, says, "For instance, I think you the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better preacher may come, but till then must retain my opinion." Immediately after this, Henderson, whose health was now much impaired, returned to Edinburgh by sea, being unable to bear the fatigue of travelling by land. The illness with which he was afflicted rapidly gained upon him, and he at length expired on the 19th of August, 1646, in the 63d year of his age, not many days after his return from Newcastle. After the death of this celebrated man, his memory was assailed by several absurd and unfounded calumnies. It was alleged that he died of mortification at his having been defeated in the controversy with the king; others asserted that he had been converted by the latter, and that on his death-bed he had expressed regret for the part he had acted, and had renounced presbytery. All of these charges were completely refuted by the General Assembly, who, taking a becoming and zealous interest in the good name of their departed brother, established his innocence on the testimony of several clergymen, and still more decisively by that of the two who attended him on his death-bed, and who heard him in his last moments pray earnestly for a "happy conclusion to the great and wonderful work of Reformation." Henderson was interred in the Grayfriars' church-yard, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Mr George Henderson. This monument, which was in the form of an obelisk, with suitable inscriptions on its four sides, was, with others of the leading covenanters, demolished at the Restoration, but was again replaced at the Revolution.

This sketch of one of the greatest divines that Scotland has produced, cannot be better concluded than in the following estimate of his character by Dr Thomas M'Crie, who had intended to add a life of Henderson to his lives of Knox and Melville, but proceeded no further than the outline sketched in his miscellaneous writings:—"Alexander Henderson was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man. He possessed talents which fitted him for judging and giving advice about the political affairs of a nation, or even for taking an active share in the management of them, had he not devoted himself to the immediate service of the Church, and the study of ecclesiastical business. He was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite; firm and independent, yet modest and condescending, he commanded the respect, and conciliated the affection, of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and he had tasted the comforts of the gospel. Its spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist, and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general. . . . . Called forth by the irresistible cry of his dear country, when he found her reduced to the utmost distress, by the oppression of ambitious prelates, supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business, at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his original soli-

tude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause."

HENRY, (Dr) ROSSAR, an eminent historian, was born in the parish of St Ninians in Stirlingshire, on the 18th of February, 1718;—his father was James Henry, a respectable farmer in Muirtown of the same parish, who had married the daughter of Mr Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. As a respectable farmer's son, young Henry enjoyed opportunities of instruction beyond the average of those who study for the church in Scotland, and he found little difficulty in indulging his inclination to become a member of a learned profession. He commenced his education under Mr Nicholson of the parish school of St Ninians, and having attended the grammar school of Stirling, perfected himself in his literary and philosophical studies at the university of Edinburgh. After leaving that institution, he occupied himself in teaching, the usual resource of the expectants of the Scottish church, and became master of the grammar school of Annan. The district in which he was so employed was soon afterwards erected into a separate presbytery, and Henry was admitted as its first licentiate, on the 27th of March, 1746. In 1748, he was ordained as clergyman of a congregation of presbyterians at Carlisle. Here he remained for twelve years, when he was transferred to a similar dissenting congregation at Berwick upon Tweed. In 1763, he married Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick. Little is said of this lady by Henry's biographers, except in reference to the domestic happiness she conferred on her husband. During his residence at Berwick, Dr Henry applied his active mind to the preparation of a scheme for establishing a fund to assist the widows and orphans of the dissenting clergymen in the north of England. The admirable fund which had some time previously been so firmly and successfully established for bestowing similar benefits on the families of the clergy of Scotland, formed the model of his imitation; but in assimilating the situation of a dissenting to that of an established church, he laboured under the usual difficulties of those who raise a social fabric which the laws will not recognise and protect. The funds which, in Scotland, were supplied by the annual contribution of the clergy, enforced by act of parliament, depended, in the English institution, on the social and provident spirit of its members. The perseverance of Henry overcame many of the practical difficulties thus thrown in his way: the fund was placed on a permanent footing in the year 1763, and Henry, having for some years undertaken its management, had afterwards the satisfaction to see it flourish, and increase in stability and usefulness as he advanced in years. The design of his elaborate history, which must have gradually developed itself in the course of his early studies, is said to have been finally formed during his residence in Berwick, and he commenced a course of inquiry and reading, which he found that the resources of a provincial town, and the assistance of his literary friends in more favoured situations, were quite incapable of supplying for a subject so vast and intricate, as that of a complete history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. In this situation Dr Henry found a useful friend in Mr Laurie, provost of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. The interest of this gentleman procured for his brother-in-law, in the year 1768, an appointment to the ministry of the new Grey Friar's church in Edinburgh, whence, in 1776, he was removed to the collegiate charge of the Old Church.

In the extensive public libraries of Edinburgh, Dr Henry found means of prosecuting his researches with effect. The first volume of his history was published in quarto in the year 1771, the second appeared in 1774, the third in 1777,

the fourth in 1781, and the fifth in 1785. The method of treating the subject was original and bold, and one the assumption of which left the author no excuse for ignorance on any subject which had the slightest connexion with the customs, intellects, and history of our forefathers, or the constitution of the kingdom. The subject was in the first place divided into periods, which were considered separately, each period occupying a volume. The volume was divided into seven chapters, each containing a distinct subject, linked to the corresponding subject in the next volume by continuance of narrative, and to the other chapters of the same volume by identity of the period discussed. The subjects thus separated were—1st, The simple narrative of the civil and military transactions of the country—2d, The ecclesiastical history—3d, The information which is generally called constitutional, narrating and accounting for the rise of the peculiarities in the form of government, the laws, and the courts of justice—4th, The state of learning, or rather the state of literature which may be called purely scholastic, excluding the fine arts, and constitutional and political information—5th, The history and state of arts and manufactures—6th, A history of commerce, including the state of shipping, coin, and the prices of commodities; and lastly, The history of the manners, customs, amusements, and costumes of the people.—The writer of a book on any subject on which he is well informed, will generally choose that manner of explaining his ideas best suited to his information and comprehension. It may be questioned whether the plan pursued by Henry was adapted for the highest class of historical composition, and if the other great historians who flourished along with him, would have improved their works by following his complicated and elaborate system. It is true that mere narrative, uninterwoven with reflection, and such information as allows us to look into the hearts of the actors, is a gift entirely divested of the qualities which make it useful; but there are various means of qualifying the narrative—some have given their constitutional information in notes, or detached passages; others have woven it beautifully into the narrative, and presenting us with the full picture of the times broadly and truly coloured, have prevented the mind from distracting itself by searching for the motives of actions through bare narrative in one part of the work, and a variety of influencing motives to be found scattered through another. The plan, which we may say was invented by Dr Henry, has only been once imitated, (unless it can be said that the acute and laborious Hallam has partly followed his arrangement.) The imitator was a Scotsman, the subject he encountered still more extensive than that of Henry, and the ignorance the author displayed in some of its minute branches excited ridicule. This is an instance of the chief danger of the system. The acquisition of a sufficient amount of information, and regularity in the arrangement, are the matters most to be attended to; Henry's good sense taught him the latter, his perseverance accomplished the former, and the author made a complete and useful work, inferior, certainly, as a great literary production, to the works of those more gifted historians who mingled reflection with the current of their narrative, but better suited to an intellect which did not soar above the trammels of such a division of subject, and which might have fallen into confusion without them.

The circumstances of the first appearance of the earlier volumes of this useful book are interesting to the world, from their having raised against the author a storm of hostility and deadly animosity almost unmatched in the annals of literary warfare. The chief persecutor, and grand master of this inquisition on reputation, was the irascible Dr Gilbert Stuart. The cause of his animosity against a worthy and inoffensive man, can only be accounted for by those whose penetration may find its way to the depths of literary jealousy.

The letters of Stuart on the subject, have been carefully collected by D'Iraëli, and published in his "Calamities of Authors," and when coupled with such traces of the influence of the persecutor as are to be found scattered here and there among the various periodicals of the age, furnish us with the painful picture of a man of intelligence and liberality, made a fiend by literary hate. Stuart commenced his dark work in the "Edinburgh Magazine and Review," established under his auspices in 1773. Dr Henry had preached before the Society (in Scotland) for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a sermon entitled "Revelation the most effectual means of civilizing and reforming mankind," and in pursuance of the custom on such occasions, the sermon was published. The sermon was as similar to all others of its class, as any given piece of mechanism can be to all others intended for similar purposes; but Stuart discovered audacity in the attempt, and unexpected failure in the execution; it required "the union of philosophy and political skill, of erudition and eloquence, qualities which he was *sorry* to observe appeared here in *no* eminent degree."<sup>1</sup> Dr Macqueen published a letter in an anonymous form, defending the sermon, and the hidden literary assassin boldly maintained it to be the work of Dr Henry, an accusation not withdrawn till the respectable author announced himself to the world. Dr Henry was soon after appointed by the magistrates to the situation of morning lecturer to the Tron church. Under the disguise of the communication of a correspondent, who mildly hints that the consequence of the proceeding will be a suit against the magistrates, we find the rounded periods of Stuart denouncing the act in those terms in which indignant virtue traces the masses of vice and deceit, as "affording a precedent from which the mortifications of the pious, may be impiously prostituted to uses to which they were never intended." In token of high respect, the General Assembly had chosen Dr Henry as their moderator, on his first return as a member of that venerable body; and being thus marked out as a leader in the affairs of the church, he took a considerable share in the proceedings of the ensuing session. Here his enemy keeps an unsleeping eye on his motions. Whilst the speeches of others are unnoticed or reported in their native simplicity, the narrator prepares himself for the handling of a choice morsel when he approaches the historian. "The opinion of one member," he observes, "we shall lay before the reader, on account of its singularity. It is that of Dr Henry, the moderator of last assembly;"<sup>2</sup> and then he proceeds to attract the finger of scorn towards opinions as ordinary as any opinions could well be conceived. The Doctor cannot even absent himself from a meeting without the circumstance being remarked, and a cause assigned which will admit the application of a preconcerted sneer. Dr Robertson was the opponent of Dr Henry in this assembly. The periodical writer was the enemy of both, and his ingenuity has been taxed to bestow ridicule on both parties. Stuart at length slowly approaches the head and front of his victim's offending, and fixes on it with deadly eagerness. After having attacked the other vulnerable points of the author, he rushes ravenously on his history, and attempts its demolition. He finds that the unfortunate author "neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. His concessions are evidently contradictory to his conclusions. It is thus perpetually with authors who examine subjects which they cannot comprehend. He has amassed all the refuse and lumber of the times he would record." "The mind of his readers is affected with no agreeable emotions, it is awakened only to disgust

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 357.

and fatigue."<sup>3</sup> But Stuart was not content with persecution at home, he wished to add the weapons of others to his own. For this purpose he procured a worthy associate, Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and author of the "Genuine History of the Britons." Stuart, a vague theorist in elegant and sonorous diction, who was weak enough to believe that his servile imitations of Montesquieu raised him to a parallel with that great man, associated himself in this work of charity with a minute and pugnacious antiquary, useful to literature from the sheer labour he had encountered, but eminently subject to the prejudices to which those who confine their laborious investigations to one narrow branch of knowledge, are exposed;—a person who would expend many quarto pages in discussing a flint arrow-head or a tumulus of stones, occasionally attempting with a broken wing to follow the flights of Gibbon, but generally as flat and sterile as the plains in which he strove to trace Roman encampments; two more uncongenial spirits hardly ever attempted to work in concert. It may easily be supposed that the minute antiquary looked with jealousy on the extended theories of his generalizing colleague; and the generalizer, though he took occasion to praise the petty investigations of the antiquary, probably regarded them in secret with a similar contempt. But Stuart found the natural malignity of Whitaker a useful commodity; and the calm good sense of Henry afforded them a common object of hatred. A few extracts will give the best display or the spirit of Stuart's communications to his friends during his machinations. "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious, that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart. I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the Monthly—a fire there, and in the Critical, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to dote.<sup>4</sup> To-morrow morning Henry sets off for London, with immense hopes of selling his history. I wish sincerely that I could enter Holborn the same hour with him. He should have a repeated fire to combat with. I entreat that you may be so kind as to let him feel some of your thunder. I shall never forget the favour. If Whitaker is in London, he could give a blow. Paterson will give him a knock. Strike by all means. The wretch will tremble, grow pale, and return with a consciousness of his debility. I have a thousand thanks to give you for your insertion of the paper in the London Chronicle, and for the part you propose to act in regard to Henry. I could wish that you knew for certain his being in London before you strike the first

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, vol. i. p. 266—270.

<sup>4</sup> D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors, ii. 67. The author appends in a note "The critique on Henry, in the Monthly Review, was written by Hume, and because the philosopher was candid, he is here said to have doted." We suspect this is erroneous, and founded on mere presumption. We have carefully read the two critiques on Henry in the Monthly Review, which appeared previous to Hume's death. The elegance and profundity of Hume are wanting, and in giving an opinion of the work, which is moderate and tolerably just, the Reviewer compares it somewhat disparagingly with the works of Hume and Robertson, a piece of conceit and affectation which the great philosopher would not have condescended to perpetrate. That Hume prepared and published a Review of Henry's book we have no doubt. In the Edinburgh Magazine for 1791, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same year, a critique is quoted, the work "of one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation." Without the aid of such a statement, the style stamps the author, and we may have occasion to quote it in the text as the work of Hume. Where it made its first appearance, a search through the principal periodicals of the day has not enabled us to discover. It is in the first person singular, and may have been in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

blow. An inquiry at Cadell's will give this. When you have an enemy to attack, I shall in return give my best assistance, and aim at him a mortal blow; and rush forward to his overthrow, though the flames of hell should start up to oppose me."

Henry was not in possession of the poisoned weapons which would have enabled him to retaliate, and his good sense and equanimity of mind were no permanent protection against assaults so unceasing and virulent. He felt himself the personal subject of ridicule and perversion, his expected gains denied, and the fame which he expected from years of labour and retirement snatched from his grasp by the hand of a ruffian.<sup>4</sup> In the midst of these adversities Henry went to London for actual shelter, but the watchful enemy observed his motions—attacks were inserted in one print and copied into another—the influence of his persecutor is widely perceptible in the periodical literature of the age. The *Critical Review* had praised the first volume of his history. The second meets with a very different reception: "it is with pain the reviewer observes, that in proportion as his narrative and inquiries are applied to cultivated times, his diligence and labour seem to relax," and a long list of alleged inaccuracies, chiefly on minute and disputed points, follows: the style is evidently not the natural language of the pompous Stuart, but it is got up in obedience to his directions on the vulnerable points of the historian, and the minuteness hints at the hand of Whitaker. Henry answered by a moderate letter defending his opinions, and acknowledging one mistake. The reviewer returns to his work with renovated vigour, and among other things accuses the historian of wilfully perverting authority. The charge of dishonesty rouses the calm divine, and with some severity he produces the words of the authority, and the use he has made of them. The editor claims the merit of candour for printing the communication, and as there is no gainsaying the fact it contains, appends an obscure hint which seems to intimate he knows more than he chooses to tell; a mode of backing out of a mistake not uncommon in periodical works, as if the editorial dignity were of so delicate a nature as not to bear a candid and honourable confession of error. Years afterwards, it is singular to discover the *Critical Review* returning to its original tone, and lauding the presence of qualities of which it had found occasion to censure the want. Stuart associated himself with his friend Whitaker in conducting the *English Review* in 1783, and it is singular, that amidst the devastation of that irascible periodical, no blow is aimed at Henry. But Stuart did not neglect his duty in the *Political Herald*, published in 1785, an able disturber of the tranquillity of literature, of which he was the sole conductor. Here he gave his last and deepest stab; accusing the venerable historian in terms the most bitter and vituperative, of a hankering after language and ideas, unworthy of his profession; concluding with the observation that "an extreme attention to smut in a presbyterian clergyman, who has reached the last scene of his life, is a deformity so shocking, that no language of reprobation is strong enough to chastise it."<sup>5</sup> The heartless insinuation was probably dictated by the consciousness that, whether true or false, no charge would be more acutely felt by the simple-minded divine. Stuart had, however, a very acute eye towards the real failings of Henry, and in his Protean attacks, he has scarcely left one of them without a brand. It was not without reason that he said to his London correspondent, "If you would only transcribe his jests, it would make him perfectly ridiculous." Henry was fond of garnish-

<sup>4</sup> Behold the triumph of the calumniator in the success of his labours: "I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him; I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour." D'Israeli's *Calumnies*, ii. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Political Herald*, v. i. p. 200.



ing with a few sallies of wit, his pictures of human folly ; but he was unhappy in the bold attempt. They had too much pleasing simplicity and good-humoured grotesqueness for the purpose to which they were applied. More like the good-natured humour of Goldsmith, than the piercing sarcasm of Voltaire, they might have served to strike the lighter foibles exhibited in our daily path ; but to attack the grander follies of mankind displayed in history, it may be said they did not possess sufficient venom to make formidable so light a weapon as wit.

We have been so much engrossed with the dreary details of malignity, that we will scarcely find room for many other details of Henry's life ; but the history of the book is the history of the author—in its fate is included all that the world need care to know, of the unassuming individual who composed it. It is with pleasure, then, that we turn to the brighter side ; Henry calmly weathered out the storm which assailed him, and in his green old age, the world smiled upon his labours. Hume, who had so successfully trod the same field, was the first to meet Henry's book with a welcome hearty and sincere ; he knew the difficulties of the task, and if he was sufficiently acute to observe that Henry was far behind himself, neither jealousy nor conceit provoked him to give utterance to such feelings. "His historical narratives," says this able judge, "are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time, his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing ; all superfluous embellishments are avoided ; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." Dr Henry had printed the first edition of the first five volumes of his book at his own risk, but on a demand for a new edition, he entered into a transaction with a bookseller, which returned him £3300. In the middle of its career the work secured royal attention ; lord Mansfield recommended the author to George the Third, and his majesty "considering his distinguished talents, and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour," bestowed on him a pension of a £100 a-year. For the honour of royal munificence, it is to be hoped that the gift was the reward of labour and literary merit, and not (as the author's enemies have proclaimed) the wages of the political principles he inculcated. The insinuation is, indeed, not without apparent foundation. Henry, if not a perverter of history in favour of arbitrary power, is at least one of those prudent speculators who are apt to look on government as something established on fixed and permanent principles, to which all opposing interests must give way—on the government as something highly respectable,—on the mass of the people as something not quite so respectable—on the community as existing for the government, and not on the government as adapted to the conveniences of the community.

Five volumes of Dr Henry's history appeared before his death, and the ample materials he had left for the completion of the sixth were afterwards edited by Mr Laing, and a continuation was written by Mr Petit Andrews. The laborious author prepared the whole for the press with his own hand, notwithstanding a tremulous disorder, which compelled him to write on a book placed on his knee. In the latter years of his life, he retired to Milnfield, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the company of his friend and relative, Mr Laurie. In 1786, his constitution began visibly to decline ; but he continued his labours till 1790. About that period his wife was affected with blindness from a cataract, and he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to the usual operation, which, however, had not the desired effect during her husband's life-

time. Dr Henry died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the 73d year of his age.—The fifth edition of the History of Britain was published in 1823, in twelve volumes 8vo. A French translation was published in 1789—96, by MM. Rowland and Cantwell.

HENRYSON, EDWARD, LL.D., an eminent civilian and classical scholar, and a senator of the College of Justice. The period of the birth of this eminent man is unknown, but it must have taken place early in the sixteenth century. Previously to the year 1551, we find him connecting himself, as most Scotsmen of talent and education at that period did, with the learned men on the continent, and distinguishing himself in his knowledge of civil law, a science which, although it was the foundation of the greater part of the municipal law of Scotland, he could have no ready means of acquiring in his own country. This study he pursued at the university of Bruges, under the tuition of Equinar Baro, an eminent civilian, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of intimacy and strong attachment. It is probable that he owed to this individual his introduction to a munificent patron, who afterwards watched and assisted his progress in the world. Ulric Fugger, lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhome, a Tyrolese nobleman, who had previously distinguished himself as the patron of the eminent Scottish civilian, Scrimger, extended an apparently ample literary patronage to Henryson, admitting him to reside within his castle, amidst an ample assortment of valuable books and manuscripts, and bestowing on him a regular pension. Henryson afterwards dedicated his works to his patron, and the circumstance that Baro inscribed some of his commentaries on the Roman law to the same individual, prompts us to think it probable that Henryson owed the notice of Fugger to the recommendation of his kind preceptor.<sup>1</sup> Dempster, who in his life of Henryson, as usual, refers to authors who never mention his name, and some of whom indeed wrote before he had acquired any celebrity, maintains that he translated into Latin (probably about this period, and while he resided in Fugger's castle) the "*Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum*" of Plutarch; and that he did so must be credited, as the work is mentioned in Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thuaana*; but the book appears to have dropped out of the circle of literature, and it is not now to be found in any public library we are aware of. In the year 1552, he returned to Scotland, where he appears to have practised as an advocate. The protection and hospitality he had formerly received from the Tyrolese nobleman, was continued to him by Henry Sinclair, then dean of Glasgow, afterwards bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session;—thus situated, he is said to have translated the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Commentaries* of Arrian; but the fruit of his labours was never published, and the manuscript is not known to be in existence. Again Henryson returned to the continent, after having remained in his native country for a short period, and the hospitable mansion of Fugger was once more open for his reception. About this period Baro, whom we have mentioned as Henryson's instructor in law, published a *Tractatus* on Jurisdiction, which met an attack from the civilian Govea, which, according to the opinion expressed by Henryson, as an opponent, did more honour to his talents than to his equanimity and candour. Henryson defended his master, in a controversial pamphlet of some length, entering with vehemence into the minute distinctions which, at that period, distracted the intellects of the most eminent jurisconsults. This work is dedicated to his patron Fugger. He was in 1554 chosen professor of the civil law at Bruges, a university in which one who wrote a century later states him to have left behind him a strong recollection of his talents and virtues. In 1555, he published another work on civil law, entitled "*Commentatio in Tit. X. Libri*

<sup>1</sup> Vide the dedication to *Tractatus de Jurisdictione* Henrysoni, Meerman's *Thesaurus*, vol. II.

*Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandia.*" It is a sort of running commentary on the title of which it professes to treat; was dedicated to Michael D'Hospital, chancellor of France, and had the good fortune along with his previous *Tractatus*, to be engrossed in the great *Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici* of Gerard Meerman, an honour which has attached itself to the works of few Scottish civilians. Henryson appears, soon after the publication of this work, to have resigned his professorship at Bruges, and to have returned to Scotland, where lucrative prospects were opened to his ambition.

A very noble feature in the history of the Scottish courts of law, is the attention with which the legislature in early periods provided for the interests of the poor. Soon after the erection of the College of Justice, an advocate was named and paid, for conducting the cases of those whose pecuniary circumstances did not permit them to conduct a law-suit; and Henryson was in 1557 appointed to the situation of counsel for the poor, as to a great public office, receiving as a salary £20 Scots, no very considerable sum even at that period, but equal to one-half of the salary allowed to the lord advocate. When the judicial privileges which the Roman catholic clergy had gradually engrossed from the judicature of the country, were considered no longer the indispensable duties and privileges of churchmen, but more fit for the care of temporal judges, Henryson was appointed in 1563 to the office of commissary, with a salary of 300 merks. Secretary Maitland of Lethington having in January, 1566, been appointed an *ordinary*, in place of being an *extraordinary*, lord of session, Henryson was appointed in his stead, filling a situation seldom so well bestowed, and generally, instead of being filled by a profound legal scholar, reserved for such scions of great families, as the government could not easily employ otherwise. Henryson was nominated one of the commission appointed in May, 1566, "for viseing, correcting, and imprenting the Laws and Acts of parliament." Of the rather carelessly arranged volume of the Acts of the Scottish parliament, from 1424 to 1564, which the commission produced in six months after its appointment, he was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface; and it was probably as holding such a situation, or in reward for his services, that in June, 1566, he received an exclusive privilege and license "to imprint or cause imprint and sell, the Lawis and Actis of Parliament; that is to say, the bukes of Law callit Regiam Majestatem, and the remanent auld Lawis and Actis of Parliament, consequentlie maid be progress of time unto the dait of thir presentis, viseit, sychtit, and correctit, be the lordis commissaris speciallie deput to the said viseing, sychting, and correcting thair of, and that for the space of ten yeires next to cum."<sup>12</sup> In November, 1567, he was removed from the bench, or, in the words of a contemporary, taken "off sessions, because he was one of the king's council."<sup>13</sup> This is the only intimation we have of his having held such an office; and it is a rather singular cause of removal, as the king's advocate was then entitled to sit on the bench, and was frequently chosen from among the lords of session. Henryson was one of the procurators for the church in 1573. The period of his death is not known, but he must have been alive in 1579, as lord Forbes at that time petitioned parliament that he might be appointed one of the commissioners for deciding the differences betwixt the Forbesses and Gordons.

Henryson has received high praise as a juriconsult, by some of his brethren of the continent, and Dempster considered him—"Solis Papinianis in juris cognitione inferior." A monument was erected to his memory in the Grey Friars' churchyard of Edinburgh, by his son Thomas Henryson, lord Chesters, who is said by Dempster and others to have displayed many of the legal and other qualifications of his father.

<sup>12</sup> Reports from the Record Commission, i. 257.

Denmiln MS.—Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, 133.

HENRYSON, or HENDERSON, Roskar, a poet of the fifteenth century, is described as having been chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary public, as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson who was king's advocate and justice clerk, and who perished in the fatal battle of Flodden. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas; who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James the Third, and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter, granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;<sup>1</sup> but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell;<sup>2</sup> in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary public, without any other addition.<sup>3</sup> That the notary public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual, is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It is not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics, and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese; and by the act of 1584, which under the penalty of deprivation prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments; so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.<sup>4</sup> If therefore Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could not well leave any legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as "ane man of age;" and from Sir Francis Kinaston we learn that "being very old he died of a diarrhæ or fluxe." With respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who in his Lament, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:

" In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,  
With gude Mr Robert Henryson."

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and, for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbrous and vitiated diction which began to prevail among the Scottish as well as the English poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is the collection of Fables, thirteen in number, which are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature, brevity is a quality which may be considered

<sup>1</sup> Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Chartulary of Dunfermline, f. 64. a.—Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63. a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He had perhaps taken the degree of master of arts.

<sup>4</sup> Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.

as almost indispensable, nor can it be denied that those of Henryson sometimes extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the lion and the mouse.

The tale of Vpoulands Mouse and the Burgesse Mouse may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from *Æsop*, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrias has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses, but Henryson has extended it over a surface of several pages. Henryson's Tale of Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's *Nonnes Preestes Tale*. From these apologues some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of the Sheepe and the Dog, contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the Testament of Cresseid,<sup>5</sup> which is the sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide*, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet. It evidently rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skilfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very competent judge of old poetry.<sup>6</sup> It is unnecessary to remark that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources: this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor could the Scottish poet be expected to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk*; Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house, in order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of Orpheus is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a lubrication of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice.

Quhen endit was the sangis lamentable,  
He tuke his harp, that on his breast can hyng,  
Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the fable,  
To seke his wyf, bot that anallit no thing:

<sup>5</sup> The Testament of Cresseid, compylit be Mr Robert Henrysone, Sculemaister in Dunfermeling. Imprintit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to.—"Ffor the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the Testament of Cresseid, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Sr. Tho. Ereskin, late earle of Kelly, and divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr Robert Henderson, sometime chiefe schoole-master, in Dumfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr Thionne, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Cresseid, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetical way, to expresse the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the Loves of Troilus and Cresseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxix. Lond. 1796, 8vo. Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's poem, and had published them under the title of *Amorum Troili et Cresseide libri duo priores Anglico-Latini*, Oxoniae, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary; and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

<sup>6</sup> Scott's Notes to Sir Tristrem, p. 362.

By Wadlyng strete<sup>7</sup> he went but taryng,  
 Syne come down throu the spere of Saturn ald,  
 Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cold.

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage is regaled with the music of the spheres. His subsequent adventures are circumstantially, but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and Christian notions of hell are blended together. But such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the writers of the middle ages. Mr Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresseid and two of her female companions as reading the Thebaid of Statius.<sup>8</sup> Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of Orpheus is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

The Bludy Serk is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself. It is unnecessary to add that the interpretation of this allegory involves the high mysteries of the Christian faith.

The Abbay Walk is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of Providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is Robene and Makyne, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne; it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

The Fables of Henryson were reprinted in 1832, for the Bannatyne Club,<sup>9</sup> from the edition of Andrew Hart; of which the only copy known to exist had been recently added to that great repository of Scottish literature, the Advocates' Library.

<sup>7</sup> Watling-street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. (Horsley's Roman Antiquities of Britain, p. 387. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's House of Fame, b. ii.

Lo, quod he, caste vp thyne eye,  
 Se yonder, lo, the Galaxye,  
 The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,  
 For it is whyte; and some perfay  
 Callen it Watlynge strete.

<sup>8</sup> In Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, says Mr Douce, "Hector quotes Aristotle, Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing Milo, and Pandarus of a man born in April. Friday and Sunday, and even minced-pies with dates in them, are introduced." (Illustrations of Shakespeare, vol. ii. p. 291.)

<sup>9</sup> From the accurate memoir prefixed to this volume, we have, by the kind permission of the

HEPBURN, JAMES BONAVENTURA, of the order of the Minims, said to have been an extensive linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and biblical commentator. When the historian and biographer happens within the range of his subjects, to find accounts of occurrences evidently problematical, and as evidently based on truths, while he can discover no data for the separation of truth from falsehood, his critical powers are taxed to no inconsiderable extent. There are three several memoirs of the individual under consideration. The first is to be found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, of Dempster, an author whose veracity we have already had occasion to characterize. Another is in the *Lives of Scots Writers*, by Dr George M'Kenzie, a work to which we have made occasional allusions, and which shall hereafter receive due discussion; and the third is in the *European Magazine* for 1795, from the pen of Dr Lettice. Dempster's account is short and meagre, except in the enumeration of the great linguist's works; the second is as ample as any one need desire; and the third adds nothing to the two preceding, except the facetious remarks of the author. Among other authorities which might have given some account of his writings, or at least hinted at the existence of such a person, all we can discover bearing reference to any of his twenty-nine elaborate works, is the slight notice we shall presently allude to. According to M'Kenzie, "Dempster says that he is mentioned with great honour by Vincentius Blancus, a noble Venetian in his *Book of Letters*;" on reference to Dempster, the apparently extensive subject shrinks into "*De Literis in manubrio cultelli sancti Petri*." Now we might have suspected that Dempster had intended to perpetrate a practical joke in the choice of a name, had we not, after considerable research, discovered that there is such a discussion on the pen knife of St Peter in existence, from the pen of Vincenzo Bianchi, a Venetian;<sup>1</sup> to this rare work, however, we have not been so fortunate as to obtain access, the only copy of it, of which we have been enabled to trace the existence, being in the library of the British museum, and we must leave the information it may afford on the life of Hepburn to some more fortunate investigator. M'Kenzie farther states that "he is highly commended by that learned Dr of the canon law, James Gaffarel, in his book of *Unheard of Curiosities*;" on turning to this curious volume, we find the author "highly recommending" *Heurnius* and his book, "*Antiquitatum Philosophiæ Barbaricæ*."<sup>2</sup> But unfortunately for the fame of our linguist, the author of that book was Otho Heurnius, or Otho Van Heurn, a native of Utrecht, and son and successor to the celebrated physician Ian Van Heurn. We now turn with some satisfaction to the only firm ground we have, on which to place the bare existence of Hepburn as an author. In the *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica* of Imbonatus,<sup>3</sup> amidst the other numberless forgotten books and names, it is mentioned in a few words that "*Bonaventura Hepburnus Scotus ord. min.*" wrote a small Hebrew lexicon, printed in duodecimo: its description shows it to have been a small and trifling

editor, Dr Irving, abridged the above article. In the *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr P. F. Tytler has entered at considerable length into the merits of Henryson's poetry, of which he gives copious extracts. He says—"of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."

<sup>1</sup> Vincenzo Bianchi *Parere intorno alli caratteri che sono sopra il manico del coltello di S. Pietro*, 4to, Ven., 1620.

<sup>2</sup> *Jacobi Gaffarelli Curiositates inauditas, de figuris Persarum talismanicis, cum notis, &c., ex editione Gregorii Michaelis*, Hamb. 1676, 2 vols., 12mo, vide pp. 22, 35, 61, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica, sive de scriptoribus Latinis, qui ex diversis nationibus, contra Judæos, vel de re Hebraica utcumque scripsere, &c. auct. et vend. D. Carolo Joseph Imbonato, Mediolanensi*, p. 14.

production, of a very different description from the vast volumes which Dempster and M'Kensie have profusely attached to his name. We have been unable to procure access to this dictionary, or to ascertain its existence in any public library. Without some more ample data or authority, we should deem ourselves worthy of the reproach of pedantry, were we to abbreviate the accounts presented to us, and tell the reader, *ex cathedra*, what he is to believe and what he is to discredit. We have then before us the choice, either to pass Mr Hepburn over in silence, or briefly to state the circumstances of his life, as they have been previously narrated. To follow the former would be disrespectful, not only to the veracious authors we have already mentioned, but also to the authors of the various respectable biographical works who have admitted Hepburn on the list of the ornaments of literature; and the latter method, if it do not furnish food for investigation, may at least give some amusement.

James Bonaventura Hepburn, was son to Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks in Lothian. M'Kensie states that he was born on the 14th day of July, 1573, and, that we may not discredit the assertion, presents us with a register kept by the rector of Oldhamstocks, of the respective periods of birth of his nine sons. He received his university education at St Andrews, where, after his philosophical studies, he distinguished himself in the acquisition of the oriental languages. Although educated in the principles of the protestant religion, he was induced to become a convert to the church of Rome. After this change in his faith, he visited the continent, residing in France and Italy, and thence passing through "Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern countries," gathering languages as he went, until he became so perfect a linguist, "that he could have travelled over the whole earth, and spoke to each nation in their own language." On returning from these laborious travels, he entered the monastery of the Minims at Avignon, an order so called from its members choosing in humility to denominate themselves "Minimi Fratres Eremitæ," as being more humble still than the Minorites, or Franciscans. He afterwards resided in the French monastery of the holy Trinity at Rome. Here his eminent qualities attracted a ferment of attention from the learned world, and pope Paul the fifth, invaded his retirement, by appointing him librarian of the oriental books and manuscripts of the Vatican.<sup>4</sup>

We shall now take the liberty of enumerating a few of the many weighty productions of our author's pen, chiefly it is to be presumed written during the six years in which he was librarian of the Vatican. *Dictionarium Hebraicum*—*Dictionarium Chaldaicum*—*Peter Malcuth, seu gloria vel decus Israelis*, [continet cent. homilias sive conciones]—*Epitomen Chronicorum Romanorum*—*Gesta Regum Israelis*—*Grammatica Arabica*, (said to have been published at Rome in 1591, 4to.) He translated *Commentarii Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium*—*Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra Librum de Mysticis numeris*—*Ejusdem Librum alium de septemplici modo interpretandi sacram scripturam*.

We shall now turn our consideration to one work of the celebrated linguist, from which a little more information appears to be derivable. This is the "*Schema Septuaginta Duorum Idiomatum, sive virga aurea—quia Beata Virgo dicitur tot annis in vivis fuisse; et ille numerus discipulorum est Christi, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium, et tot mysteria in nomine Dei: Roma, 1616.*" M'Kensie says, "this was communicated to me by the late Sir John Murray of

<sup>4</sup> It is singular that a person in the 17th century, living in Italy, professing so many languages in a country where linguists were rare, a librarian of the Vatican, and one whose "eminent parts had divulged his fame through the whole city"—should have entirely escaped the vast researches of Andre in general literature, Fruboschi's ample investigation of Italian Literature, the minute Ecclesiastical Bibliographies of Dupin and Labbe, and other works of the same description.



Glendoich, and since it is a singular piece of curiosity, I shall give the reader a particular account of it, with some reflections upon the different languages that are here set down by our author." Whether by the term "communicated" the biographer means to intimate that he saw the production he criticises, is somewhat doubtful; but at all events, our opinion of M'Kenzie's veracity is such, that we do not believe he would deliberately state that he had either been informed of or shown any particular work by Sir John Murray, and thereafter give a full and minute account of it, without some sort of foundation on which to erect his edifice of narrative. M'Kenzie proceeds to assure us that this is a large print, engraved at Rome in the year 1616, and dedicated to Pope Paul V. That upon the top is the blessed virgin, with a circle of stars about her head, wrapt in a glorious vestment, upon which is her name in Hebrew, sending forth rays of eulogiums in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while over her head appear the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Angels and the apostles are at her side, and the moon and stars beneath her feet. Then follow seven columns in which these encomiums are translated into the numerous dialects with which the mighty linguist was familiar. A great northern philologist, recently deceased, has been held up to the wonder of the human race, as having been acquainted with thirty-two languages; but in a period when few were acquainted with more tongues than that of their native place, along with the Greek and Latin, and when the materials for more extensive acquisitions were with difficulty accessible, the craving appetite of Hepburn could not be satiated with fewer than seventy-two. We have among these—The Cussian, the Virgilian, the Hetruscan, the Saracen, the Assyrian, the Armenian, the Syro-Armenian, the Gothic, and also the *Getic*; the Scythian, and the Meso-Gothic. Then he leaves such modern labourers as Champolion and Dr Young deeply in the shade, from his knowledge of the Coptic, the Hieroglyphic, the Egyptian, the Mercurial Egyptian, the Isiac-Egyptian, and the Babylonish. He then turns towards the Chaldaic, the Palestinian, the Turkish, the Rabbinical, the German Rabbinical, the Galilean, the Spanish-Rabbinical, the Afro-Rabbinical, and what seems the most appropriate tongue of all, the "Mystical."<sup>5</sup> Gradually the biographer rises with the dignity of his subject, and begins to leave the firm earth. He proceeds to tell us how Hepburn wrote in the "Noachic," the "Adamean," the "Solomonic," the "Mosaic," the "Hulo-Rabbinic," the "Seraphic," the "Angelical," and the "Supercelestial."<sup>6</sup> "Now," continues M'Kenzie, with much complacency at the successful exhibition he has made of his countryman's powers, but certainly with much modesty, considering their extent, "these are all the languages (and they are the most of the whole *habitable world*), in which our author has given us a specimen of his knowledge, and which evidently demonstrates that he was not only the greatest linguist of his own age, but of any age that has been since the creation of the world, and may be reckoned amongst those prodigies of mankind, that seem to go beyond the ordinary limits of nature."

Hepburn dabbled in the doctrines of the Cabala, but whether in vindication or attack, the oracular observations of his biographers hardly enable us to ascertain. He died at Venice in October, 1620, a circumstance in which Dempster has the best reason to be accurate, as it is the very year in which he pens his account. M'Kenzie finds that "others" (without condescending to mention who they are,) "say that he died at Venice, anno 1621, and that his picture is still to be seen there, and at the Vatican at Rome." Dr Lettice, in the refined

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Cabalistic arrangement of the alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps M'Kenzie may in naming this alphabet have had some confused idea in his mind, of an arrangement of the celestial bodies, by alternate contortion, into something resembling the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, followed by some of the worshippers of the secret sciences. The arrangement was called the celestial alphabet. *Vide* Caffarel.

spirit of a philosophical biographer, has drawn of him the following character: "Although Hepburn's attainments in language were worthy of great admiration, I find no reason to believe that his mind was enlarged, or his understanding remarkably vigorous. He does not appear to have possessed that quick sense of remote but kindred objects, that active faculty of combining and felicity of expressing related ideas, or that intuitive discernment betwixt heterogeneous ones; those creative powers, in short, of thought or expression, by which original works of whatever kind are produced; those works in the contemplation of which alone, taste ever recognizes the fascination of genius." Did we possess the power of creating opinions out of nothing, which the Dr possessed, and to which he seems to refer, we should have tried his canons of criticism, on a minute review of all Hepburn's works, but in the meantime, we can only say, we can scarcely agree with him in thinking that the linguist had not a quick sense of "remote but kindred objects," or that he had any defect in his discernment of heterogeneous ideas; nor do we conceive that his biographer has allowed him too narrow an allowance of "creative power."

HEPBURN, ROSSER, of Bearford, a fugitive writer, who at a very early age distinguished himself by the exhibition of strong talents, and an original genius, which the briefness of his life did not permit to rise to maturity, was born about 1690 or 1691. He studied civil law in Holland, with the intention of becoming a member of the legal profession in his native country. He returned home in 1711, and in his twenty-first year attempted to imitate in Scotland the fugitive literature which the *Tatler* had introduced to England. Hepburn's work was an avowed imitation of that periodical. He named it "*The Tatler*," by Donald Macstaff of the North." This work was carried through thirty weekly numbers; it is, we believe, extremely rare, and we have been unable to obtain a perusal of it. Lord Woodhouselee, who appears to have been acquainted with it, says, in his *Life of Kames*, "These papers are evidently the production of a man of vigorous native powers, and of a mind not meanly stored with ancient learning, and familiar with the best writings of the moderns. The author might have shone in the treatment of general topics of moral discussion, or of criticism; but from a propensity not unnatural, where talents are combined with an ardent temperament, and sarcastic turn of mind, his compositions were fitted to give much offence, by the description of known characters, and by the personal satire which he employed, with no gentle or delicate hand, on some men of note, both in the ecclesiastical and civil departments, among his countrymen." In 1713, Mr Hepburn became a member of the faculty of advocates, but death quenched his fiery and ambitious spirit, before he had an opportunity of exercising his professional talents. He left behind him two opuscula, "*Demonstratio quod Deus sit*," published at Edinburgh in 1714, and "*Dissertatio De Scriptis Pitcairnanis*," 1715. In the concluding number of the *Tatler*, he announced for publication a translation of Sir George M'Kenzie's curious tract "*Idea Eloquentiæ Forensis*;" a project he appears to have been prevented from fulfilling. There is extant a curious pamphlet, "*A Discourse concerning the character of a Man of Genius*, by Mr Hepburn," Edinburgh, 1715. We have no doubt that this is from the hand of Mr Hepburn of Bearford; it is the production of no ordinary mind. This small work is divided into sections, each of which contains a condensed moral precept, or aphorism: the quotation of one or two of these will give the best idea of the author's talents, which can be now furnished. The reader will be surprised to find in our extracts, reflections which have now become common-place, but which strikingly resemble many of those on which some of the moral and polite philosophers of the last century raised their renown.

Sec. 7. "I dont know by what fate it happens, that some men have the fortune to be counted *wits*, only for jesting a little out of the common road, and for endeavouring, in opposition to all the reason and sense of mankind, to turn into ridicule those things which are, in their own nature, the most sacred and venerable. But as a man is not infamous for being defamed, so it is no disparagement to any person or thing, to be laughed at, but to deserve to be so. It was a wise answer of Diogenes, which we find mentioned by Plutarch, when some of his friends told him that his enemies were laughing at him; 'but I,' replied he, 'am not derided.'"

Sec. 9. "A man of genius ought not, in my opinion, to think even his dress below his notice; as the world is but too apt to judge by appearance."

Sec. 15. "A man discovers the extent of his genius, if, upon all occasions, he handsomely acts his part, and behaves with a good grace in every scene and circumstance of human life. The care of doing nothing unbecoming has accompanied the greatest minds to the last moments: they avoided an indecent posture, even in the very article of death."

HERD, DAVID, an ingenious and useful inquirer into our national antiquities, was born in the parish of St Cyrus, Kincardineshire, about the year 1732. Of his education, and early life in general, nothing has been ascertained. He probably served an apprenticeship under a country writer, and then, like many young men in his circumstances, sought a situation of better promise in the capital. Throughout a long life, he appears to have lived unambitiously, and a bachelor, in Edinburgh, never rising above the character of a *Writer's clerk*. He was for many years clerk to Mr David Russel, accountant. A decided taste for antiquities, and literary antiquities in particular, led Mr Herd to spend a great part of his savings on books; and although the volumes which he preferred were then much cheaper than now, his library eventually brought the sum of £254, 19s. 10d. The same taste brought him into association with the principal authors and artists of his own time: Runciman, the painter, was one of his intimate friends, and with Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart, Fergusson, and Robert Burns, he was well acquainted. His information regarding Scottish history and biography was extensive. Many of his remarks appeared in the periodical works of his time, and the notes appended to several popular works were enriched by notes of his collecting. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, was much indebted, in his *Border Minstrelsy*, to a manuscript of Mr Herd's, which is frequently quoted by the editor, both for ballads and for information respecting them. Mr Herd was himself editor of what Scott calls "the first classical collection" of Scottish songs, which first appeared in one volume in 1769, and secondly in two volumes, in 1772. At his demise, which took place, June 25, 1810, he was understood to have left considerable property, which fell to a gentleman in England, supposed to have been his natural son, and who is said to have died a major in the army.

HERIOT, GEORGE, founder of the excellent hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name, and jeweller to king James VI., was descended from the Heriots of Trabroun in East-Lothian. This respectable family was connected with some of the most distinguished names in Scottish history. The mother of the illustrious Buchanan was a daughter of the family, and it was through the patronage of James Heriot of Trabroun, his maternal uncle, that the future poet and statesman was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris. Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, was the mother of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, first earl of Haddington, president of the court of session, and secretary and prime minister to James VI. But the family may, with more reason, boast of their connexion with the subject of this memoir, who, though

filling only the unaristocratic rank of a tradesman, has been the means of drawing forth from obscurity *some* persons of high talent, and *many* who have moved in the middle ranks with the greatest honour to themselves and benefit to society.

George Heriot, senior, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh and a person of wealth and consideration. He filled some of the most responsible civic situations in the Scottish metropolis: his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish parliament as a commissioner for Edinburgh, in the parliaments and conventions of estates, and he was frequently appointed a commissioner by parliament for the consideration of important questions.<sup>1</sup>

George, his eldest son (the subject of our inquiry) is supposed to have been born in June, 1563. He was destined to follow his father's profession, at that time one of the most lucrative and honourable among the burghesee. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were, in ancient times, classed with the hammermen; at what time they were separated seems uncertain. They received (in August, 1581) a charter of incorporation from the magistrates, in which many privileges, amounting in fact to a monopoly of their trade, were granted to them, and these were afterwards (1586) confirmed by a charter from James VI. They were, besides, for a long period, the only money lenders; and the high rate of interest, with their frequent command over the resources of the court and the nobility, rendered them persons at once of wealth and power.

At the age of twenty-three George Heriot entered into a contract of marriage with Christian Marjoribanks, daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, a substantial burgher of Edinburgh. On this occasion, his father presented him with 1000 merks "to be ane begynsing and pak to him," and 500 more to purchase the implements of his trade and to fit out his shop. By his wife he received 1075 merks, which appear to have been lent out at ten per cent. interest, the usual rate of that period. Their union does not appear to have been of long duration, although the date of this lady's death is unknown; it is even doubtful if she had any children—if she had, none of them survived her.

Master Heriot was admitted a member of the incorporation of goldsmiths on the twenty-eighth of May, 1588. In 1597 he was appointed goldsmith to the queen by a charter from James VI., and this (to use the expression of a contemporary chronicler, Birrel,) "was intimat at the crosse be opin proclamations and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei, the French man, dischargit, quha was the queen's goldsmith befor." Heriot was soon after constituted goldsmith and jeweller to the king, with all the emoluments attached to that lucrative office. It would appear that he had already amassed a considerable fortune from his transactions with the court, but no notice of his work occurs in the treasurer's books till September, 1599, when we have the following:

"Payit at his majesties special command, with advyis of the lords of secret counsil, to George Heriot, younger, goldsmith, for a copburd propynit to Monsieur Vetonu, Frenche ambassadour, contening the peces following, viz.: twa basingis, twa laweris effeiring thairto, twa flaconis, twa chandilleris, sex couppis with coveris, twa couppis without coveris, ane lawer for water, ane saltfalk with ane cover; all chimellit wark, and dowbill owirgilt, weyand twa stane 14 pund and 5 unces at sucht mark the unce, £4160. Item, for graving of 28 almennis upon the said copburd £14," Scots money.

No other notice of him appears between this period and that of the removal of the court to England, whither he soon followed it.

Heriot was now possessed of large fortune, and determined upon forming a marriage connexion with a family of good rank. The object of his choice was Alison

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (folio edition), iv. 181, 379.

Primrose, eldest daughter of James Primrose, clerk to the Scottish privy council; a gentleman whose industry and talents had raised him to that honourable office, and who was the grandfather of the first earl of Roseberry. Heriot was also destined to survive this lady, who died, without leaving issue, on the 16th of April, 1612. "The loss of a young, beautiful, and amiable partner, at a period so interesting," Sir Walter Scott conjectures, "was the probable reason of her husband devoting his fortune to a charitable institution." She was interred in the south aisle of the choir of Saint Gregory's church, where her sorrowing husband erected a handsome monument, bearing a Latin inscription, to her memory.

From the period of Heriot's settlement at London little is known of his history. Many of the accounts of jewels furnished by him to the queen have been preserved, and several are printed by Mr Constable in his memoir of Heriot. These accounts, from 1605 to 1615, amount to many thousand pounds sterling, but there does not appear to have been the same liberality towards all the members of the royal family. We find the duke (then marquis) of Buckingham, writing to his "dere dad, gossip and steward," the king, from the Spanish court in the following manner relative to the prince: "Hitherto you have beine so sparing [of jewels] that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one [own] wearing, to present to his mistris, who, I am sure shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bene forced to lend him." About the same period Charles writes the following letter from Madrid to his royal father:

"I confess that ye have sent mor jewells then (at my departure) I thought to had use of; but, since my cumming, seeing manie jewells worne here, and that my braverie can consist of nothing else, besydes that some of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenie's oppinion and myne are not fit to be given to her; therefore I have taken this bouldness to entreate your majesty to send more for my own wearing, and for giving to my mistris, in which I think your majesty shall not doe amiss to take Carlyle's advice."<sup>2</sup> It is said that Heriot furnished these jewels, and that they were never paid for by James, but that their price was deducted from the purchase-money of the barony of Broughton when bought by the trustees of the hospital.<sup>3</sup> If this is the case, it is the last transaction in which we have found Heriot engaged. He died at London on the 12th of February, 1624, and was buried at St Martin's in the Fields on the 20th of the same month.

Of Heriot's private character little unfortunately is known. He seems to have possessed those strict business-like habits of accuracy for which he is so distinguished in the novel of the Fortunes of Nigel. With his relations he must have lived on amicable terms, for besides the munificent provision made in his will for the establishment of an hospital, he left considerable sums to many of his relations. Of these the nearest were two natural daughters.

By his will, (dated 20th January, 1623,) he left the whole of his fortune, after deducting the legacies to his relations, servants, &c. to "the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and ordinary council, for the time being, of the said town of Edinburgh, for and towards the founding and erecting of an hospital within the said town of Edinburgh, in perpetuity; and for and towards purchasing of certain lands in perpetuity to belong unto the said hospital, to be employed for the

<sup>2</sup> Stark's Picture of Edinburgh, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's Letters illustrative of English history, (first series) iii. 145, 6. Buckingham adds the following postscript in his usual style: "I your doge (dog) sayes you have manie jewells neyther fit for your one (own,) your sones, nor your daughters, wearing, but very fit to bestow on those here who must necessarilie have presents; and this way will be least chargeable to your majesty in my poure opinion."

maintenance, relief, bringing up, and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which I give, and the yearly value of the lands purchased by the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and council of the said town shall amount, or come to." The education of the boys is superintended by able masters, and they are not only taught to read, write, and cast accounts, (to which the statutes of the hospital originally confined the trustees,) but Latin, Greek, Mathematics, &c. If the boys choose a learned profession, they are sent to the university for four years, with an annual allowance of thirty pounds. The greater number are bound apprentices to tradesmen in the city, and are allowed the annual sum of ten pounds for five years; at the end of their apprenticeship they receive five pounds to purchase a suit of clothes, upon producing a certificate of good conduct from their master.

The foundation of the present magnificent structure (designed by the celebrated architect Inigo Jones,) was laid on the 1st of July, 1628, but from the disturbed state of the country continued unfinished till April, 1659. From the rise in the value of their property, the yearly revenue at the disposal of the trustees has very greatly increased, especially during the last half century. A body of statutes by which the institution is governed was drawn up by Dr Balcanquhal, dean of Rochester, the well known author of a "Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland," 1639, published in name of king Charles I.

HERON, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the town of New Galloway, on the 6th November, 1764. His father, John Heron, was a weaver, generally respected for his persevering industry and exemplary piety. By his grandmother, Margaret Murray, aunt of the late Dr Alexander Murray, he claimed no very distant relationship to that profound philologist. He was early instructed in his letters under the careful eye of a fond parent, and was not sent to the school of the parish until he had reached his ninth year. He soon became remarkable for the love he showed for learning, and the unwearied anxiety with which he pursued his inquiries after every point connected with his studies. This being early perceived by his parents, they resolved to give him the benefit of a liberal education as far as their means would allow. He had scarcely remained two years at school when, at the age of eleven, he contrived to maintain and educate himself by mingling with his studies the labour of teaching and writing. From his own savings out of a very limited income, and a small assistance from his parents, he was enabled to remove to the university of Edinburgh at the end of the year 1780.

His hopes of preferment at that time being centered in the church, he first applied himself to the course of study which that profession requires. While attending the college he was still obliged to devote a considerable portion of his time to private teaching, as well as writing occasional essays for newspapers and magazines, in order to provide for his subsistence. To quote his own words, "he taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature." Being well grounded in a knowledge of the French language, he found constant employment from booksellers in translating foreign works. His first literary production, published with his name, appeared in 1789, "A Critique on the Genius and Writings of Thomson," prefixed to a small edition of the Seasons. It was highly spoken of, and reflected much credit on the judgment and taste of the author. His next work was a version of Fourcroy's Chemistry, from the French, followed by Savary's Travels in Greece, Dumourier's Letters, Gesner's Idyls in part, an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and several abridgments of Oriental Tales.

In 1790-1, he says he "read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, Grecian, Roman, feudal, and canon law—and then on the

several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe ;"—these lectures, he says, were to assist gentlemen who did not study professionally, in the *understanding of history*. Though he devoted much time and study to prepare these lectures, he was afterwards unfortunate in not being able to obtain a sufficient audience to repay him for their composition—they were consequently soon discontinued. A syllabus of the entire course was afterwards published. Still the sums of money he continued to receive from his publishers were amply sufficient to maintain him in a respectable manner, if managed with prudence and discretion ; but his unfortunate peculiarity of temper, and extravagant desire of supporting a style of living which nothing but a liberal and certain income would admit of, frequently reduced him to distress, and finally to the jail. He might have long remained in confinement, but that some worthy friends interceded ; and, on their suggestion, he engaged himself to write a *History of Scotland*, for which Messrs Morrisons of Perth were to pay him at the rate of three guineas a sheet, his creditors, at the same time, agreeing to release him for fifteen shillings in the pound, to be secured on two thirds of the copyright ; before this arrangement was fully concluded, melancholy to relate, nearly the whole of the first volume of the *History of Scotland* was written in jail. It appeared in 1793, and one volume of the work was published every year successively, until the whole six were completed. During that period he went on a tour through the western parts of Scotland, and from notes taken on the road, he compiled a work in two volumes octavo, called "A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland." He also gave to the world, "A Topographical Account of Scotland," "A New and Complete System of Universal Geography," "A Memoir of Robert Burns," besides many contributions to magazines and other periodical works. He was also engaged by Sir John Sinclair, to superintend the publication of his *Statistical Account of Scotland*. By this time he had acquired great facility in the use of his pen, and, being extremely vain of the versatility of his genius, he flattered himself there was no range in literature, however high, that was not within the scope of his powers. Impressed with these ideas, he made an attempt at dramatic composition, and having some influence with the manager of the theatre, he contrived to get introduced on the stage an after-piece, written, as he says, in great haste, called, "St Kilda in Edinburgh ; or, News from Camperdown ;"—but as if to verify the adage, "Things done in a haste are never done well," so it turned out with St Kilda. Being devoid of every thing like interest, and violating in many parts the common rules of decency, it was justly condemned before it reached the second act.

Our author's vanity must have on this occasion received a deep wound, being present in the house at the time ;—overwhelmed with disappointment, he flew to his lodgings and confined himself to bed for several days. Still blinded by vanity in the midst of his mental sufferings, he imputed the failure of his play to the machinations of his enemies. He therefore determined on "shaming the rogues" by printing. It is needless to say, it neither sold nor was talked of. The most amusing part of this affair was the mode in which he persisted in forcing his production on the public. We shall present our readers with an extract from his highly inflated preface. It commences with a quotation from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. "The learned bishop Hall tells us in one of his decades, at the end of his *Divine Meditations*, that it is an abominable thing for a man to *commend himself*, and verily I think so ; and yet, on the other hand, when a thing is executed in a *masterly* kind of fashion, which thing is not likely to be found out, I think it is fully as abominable that a man should lose the honour of it. This is exactly my situation." In the following he quotes Swift :—"When a *true genius* appears in the world, you may know him by this sign—

that the *dunces* are all in confederacy against him." Yet, though blinded by folly and weighed down by distress, still his filial affections were alive, and, although he could not afford his parents any permanent support, he seemed anxious to promote the education of their family; which the following extracts from his letters will sufficiently prove:

"I hope by living more pious and carefully, by managing my income frugally, and appropriating a part of it to the service of you and my sisters, and by living with you in future at least a third part of the year, to reconcile your affections more entirely to me, and give you more comfort than I have yet done. Oh forget and forgive my follies; look on me as a son who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible." And again,—“We will endeavour,” says he, “to settle our dear Grace comfortably in life, and to educate our dear little Betty and Mary aright.” He brought his eldest brother, John, to Edinburgh, to study at the university, with the view of his entering the church; he was a youth of promising abilities, but of weak constitution, and sank into an early grave in 1790. As the other children increased in years, faithful to his promise, he brought his favourite sister, Mary, to live with him in Edinburgh to complete her education. His irregularities, and consequent embarrassments, made her situation in town any thing but an enviable one. Her mortifications, however, in this life were not of long duration, as she died at his lodgings in 1798. To a mind of his quick sensibility this was a dreadful shock. Almost frantic with grief at the loss he experienced, he gave himself up to the wildest despair: every unkind action or word he made use of towards her rushed to his distracted memory, until life itself was almost insupportable. Neither the sympathy of friends, nor the consolations of religion, could mitigate his woes. At the same time his means of subsistence became every day more precarious; his literary labours were ceasing to pay, so that, added to his other misfortunes, starvation and a jail were hourly staring him in the face. Shunning as much as possible all his former companions, he might now be seen wandering about the suburbs of the city, with wasted cheek and sunken eye, a miserable victim of want and care. By degrees, however, he was recalled to a better state of mind, when, finding his views not likely to succeed any longer in Scotland, he was induced to go to London in 1799. For the first few years of his residence there, it appears he found good employment, and his application to study being very great, his profits and prospects were alike cheering. In a letter written to his father about the time we are speaking of, he says—

“My whole income, earned by full sixteen hours a-day of close application to reading, writing, observation, and study, is but very little more than three hundred pounds a-year. But this is sufficient to my wants, and is earned in a manner which I know to be the most useful and honourable—that is, by teaching beneficial truths, and discountenancing vice and folly more effectually and more extensively than I could in any other way. This I am here always sure to earn, while I can give the necessary application; and if I were able to execute more literary labour I might readily obtain more money.”

He for a time pursued his literary vocations with an unwearied industry, and there was scarcely a publication then in London of any note but contained some of his fugitive writings. He realized in consequence a good income, but, unfortunately, for no great length of time. His former bad habits returned, and while money continued to flow in, he indulged in the wildest extravagance. Wishing to be thought an independent man of fortune, he would carry his folly so far as at times to keep a pair of horses, with a groom in livery. All this time his pen was laid aside; and until warned of his fate by the appearance



of his last shilling, he seemed altogether devoid of reflection. Then he would betake himself to his work, as an enthusiast in every thing, confining himself for weeks to his chamber, dressed only in his shirt and morning gown, and commonly with a green veil over his eyes, which were weak, and inflamed by such fits of ill regulated study.

In 1806, he addressed a letter to Mr Wilberforce on the *justice and expediency of the Slave Trade*. He wrote a short system of Chemistry, and a few months previous to his death he published a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, which, it appears, met with a ready sale.

The last years of his life were spent in the deepest misery. His friends and associates by degrees deserted him; some offended at his total want of steadiness, others worn out by constant importunities, and not a few disgusted at the vanity and envy he displayed on too many occasions; added to all this, his employers found they could place no dependence on his promises, as he would only resume his pen when urged to it by stern necessity, so that he found at last, it was with great difficulty he could procure even a scanty subsistence. Deep in debt, and harassed by his creditors, who were all exasperated at his constant want of faith, he was at last consigned to the jail of Newgate, where he dragged on a miserable existence for many months. From that vile prison he wrote the following pathetic appeal to the Literary Fund, which we derive from a most appropriate source, D'Israeli's "Calamities of Authors."

"Ever since I was eleven years of age I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching or writing to support and educate myself. During about twenty years, while I was in constant and occasional attendance at the university of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature. I read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the canon law, and then on the feudal law, and on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a Syllabus of these lectures, which was approved; they were as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally, in the understanding of history. I translated Fourcroy's Chemistry twice, Savary's Travels in Greece, Dumourier's Letters, Gesner's Idyls in part, an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and a great diversity of smaller pieces. I wrote a journey through the western parts of Scotland, which has passed through two editions; a History of Scotland in six volumes 8vo; a topographical account of Scotland, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the Edinburgh Magazine; many prefaces and critiques. A Memoir of the Life of Burns, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family, has been reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the Doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose, and many abridgments of large works. In the beginning of 1799, I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The London Review, the Agricultural Magazine, the Universal Magazine, the Anti-Jacobin Review, the Public Characters, the Annual Necrology, with several other periodical works, contain many of my communications. In such of these publications as have been received, I can show that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise. I have written also a short system of Chemistry, and I published a few weeks since a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid

sale. In the newspapers—The Oracle, The Porcupine, when it existed, The General Evening Post, The Morning Post, The British Press, The Courier, &c. I have published my reports of the debates in parliament, and I believe a greater variety of fugitive pieces than I know to have been written by any one person. I have written also a great variety of compositions in Latin and French, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonials of liberal approbation.

"I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion and morality, pious Christian education, and good order in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles, and I have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have for many years read and written one day with another from twelve to sixteen hours a-day. As a human being I have not been free from follies and errors; but the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and, to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to be candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others. For the last ten months I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

"I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a jail.

"92, Chancery Lane, Feb. 2d. 1807.

(In confinement.)"

His life was now fast drawing to a close. With a mind bowed down by want and despair, and a body emaciated from increasing disease, he was incapable of farther exertion; and being removed to an hospital as his last and only hope, in one week after his entrance there, he breathed his last, on the 13th of April, 1807, without a friend to console or assist him. Thus perished Robert Heron in the prime of life, with talents and acquirements of a very rare description, which, if governed by prudence, were eminently calculated to gain for him an honourable independence in the world. It is difficult to estimate the true depth of his genius by his miscellaneous publications in prose; his style was of a mixed description,—sometimes pompous and declamatory, at other times chaste and elegant. But it must be considered he was seldom allowed the choice of a subject, being all his life under the dictates of a publisher.<sup>1</sup> He composed with great rapidity, and seldom made any corrections but in his proof sheets. His appearance was at most times impressive and dignified; his figure, above the middle size, stately and erect, and his countenance had a benevolent expression, though pale and care-worn from study and confinement.

With all his faults he had still many redeeming virtues; and above all a strong sense of the respect which is due to religion and morality. In a diary of his life, kept at various times, which contains a free confession of his sentiments, he has recorded, that, in whatever manner he spent the day, he never closed his eyes at night without humbling himself in prayer before the throne of the Most High.

The brief memoir of this accomplished scholar affords another striking instance of the impossibility of shielding genius from poverty and disgrace when blinded by passion, or perverted by eccentricity.

HILL, (Dr) GEORGE, an eminent leader of the church of Scotland, and principal of St Mary's college, St Andrews, was born in that city, in the month of June, 1750. His father, the Rev. John Hill, was one of the ministers of St Andrews; and he went through his whole course of education in the university there. The elements of education he received very early, after which he was

<sup>1</sup> A specimen of the writings of this extraordinary genius is given in the present work, under the head "Robert Burns."

sent to the grammar school, then taught by Mr Dick, who afterwards obtained a chair in the university. While he continued at school, he made a rapid progress, and was generally at the head of his class. At the age of nine years, he exhibited so much precocity of talent as to compose a sermon, superior in his father's opinion to many sermons he had heard from the pulpit; and the late countess of Buchan was so much pleased with it, that she requested it might be dedicated to her, and carried it to London with her, with the intention of having it printed. The intention, however, without any loss to the world we presume, was never brought into act. He entered upon his academical course in the eleventh year of his age, and in all the different classes maintained a decided superiority. His tasks he performed always with ease; and he was highly respected by all the professors under whom he studied. At fourteen years of age, he had completed his philosophical course, and was made a master of arts; and, having determined to devote himself to the church, entered upon the study of theology in his fifteenth year. During the second session of his theology, the earl of Kinnoul, having been appointed chancellor of the university of St Andrews, gave for the encouragement of learners, a number of prizes, to be bestowed on the most deserving in the various classes. These prizes his lordship distributed to the successful candidates with his own hand; and young Hill, having gained one of them, though he had to contend with many that were greatly his seniors, attracted the particular notice of his lordship, who from that moment took a warm interest in his success in life, giving him directions for his conduct, and aid for the prosecution of his schemes, with the warmth of a parent rather than the cold and stately formality of a patron. During his college vacations, he was in the habit of visiting frequently at Temple, his uncle, Dr McCormick, the biographer of Carstairs, by whom he was introduced to the metropolitan of the Scottish church, principal Robertson, and by the principal he was recommended as tutor to the eldest son of Pryce Campbell, M. P., and at that time one of the lords of the treasury. In consequence of this appointment, he repaired to London in November, 1767, not having completed his seventeenth year. Such a series of fortunate incidents occurs in the lives of few individuals. "Educated," says his biographer, "in the genuine principles of whiggism, he considered the great design of government to be the promotion of the liberty and the happiness of the people;" but in the close of the very same paragraph this writer introduces the subject of his panegyric saying to his mother, "as I have seen nothing but mobbing and the bad effects of faction since I came to England, I am very moderate, and think it the duty of an honest man to support almost any ministry." Mr Hill was, indeed, a whig of a somewhat odd kind; the man whom he most admired was lord North, and the objects of his aversion and his vituperation were the American colonists, Messrs Beckford, Wilkes, and the other members of the opposition in the house of commons.

Mr Hill, while at St Andrews, had been an ambitious member of those associations generally formed at colleges for the purpose of exercising the talent of speech, and he was not long in London till he found his way into the Robin Hood Debating Society, where he even then consulted his interest by defending the measures of administration. His account of this society gives no very high idea of its members. "Last night I went to the Robin Hood Society and was very highly entertained there. We had speakers of all kinds, shoemakers, weavers, and quakers, whose constant topic was the dearth of provisions. There were one or two who spoke very comically, and with a great deal of humour. But what surprised me much, I heard one of the easiest and most masterly speakers that ever I heard in my life. His dress was rather shabby, but he is a constant attendant and by long practice has greatly improved. I

spoke once or twice, and had the honour of being listened to with great attention, which is a compliment in a society of this kind, which is made up of people of all descriptions. It sits on Mondays from eight to ten. A ticket costs sixpence, for which you get a well lighted room and as much porter and lemonade as you choose to drink. There is a subject fixed, and if that fail, the president gives another. I shall be a constant attendant, not only as it is one of the highest entertainments, but as the best substitute for the select clubs which I have left—"I carried," he says in another letter to his mother, "my pupil to the Robin Hood Society, along with Mr Brodie, Mr Campbell's parochial clergyman at Calder, who was on a visit to London. I made a splendid oration, which had the honour of a loud clap, and was very much approved by Mr Brodie. It is a fine exercise for oratorical talents." On another occasion Mr Hill thus expresses himself: "I am obliged to you for your observations on the knowledge of mankind. The true secret certainly for passing through life with comfort, and especially to a person in my situation, is to study the tempers of those about him and to accommodate himself to them. I don't know whether I am possessed of this secret, or whether there is something remarkable in the persons with whom I converse, but I have found every body with whom I have had any connexion since I came to England or Wales, exceedingly agreeable. From all I have met with politeness and attention, and, from many, particular marks of favour and kindness. I may be defective in penetration and sagacity, and in judging of character, but I am sure I am pliable enough, more than I think sometimes quite right. I can laugh or be grave, talk nonsense, or politics, or philosophy, just as it suits my company, and can submit to any mortification to please those with whom I converse. I cannot flatter; but I can listen with attention, and seem pleased with every thing that any body says. By arts like these, which have, perhaps, a little meanness in them, but are so convenient that one does not choose to lay them aside, I have had the good luck to be a favourite in most places." This at eighteen, except perhaps in Scotland, will be looked upon as an amazing instance of precocious worldly sense. In the scramble for the good things of this world, had such a man failed, who could ever hope to succeed?

In a subsequent letter to his mother, referring to the circumstance of a younger brother entering upon his education, he observes, "What is the learning of any one language, but throwing away so much time in getting by heart a parcel of words in one language, and another parcel corresponding to the first in another? It is an odd thing that some more rational and useful employment cannot be found out for boys of his age, and that we should still throw away eight or ten years in learning dead languages, after we have spunged out of them all that is to be found. God certainly never intended that so much of our time should be spent in learning Greek and Latin. The period allotted to us for action is so short that we cannot too soon begin to fit ourselves for appearing upon the stage. Mr Campbell cannot read Greek, and he is a bad Latin scholar; yet he is a philosopher, a divine, and a statesman, because he has improved his natural parts by reading a great deal of English. I am, and perhaps all my life shall continue a close student; but I hate learning. I have no more than is absolutely necessary, and as soon as I can I shall throw that little away." Whatever was his Latinity, Mr Campbell's interest was good and promised still to be better, in consequence of which Mr Hill's friends were instant with him to go into the church of England, where, through the attention of Mr Campbell, he might be much better provided for than he could be in the church of Scotland, to which, notwithstanding, he still professed not only adherence, but a high degree of veneration.

From this temptation he was delivered by the death of Mr Pryce Campbell.

who was cut off in the prime of his days, and in the midst of his expectations. Mr Hill, however, was still continued with his pupil, who was now under the protection of his grandfather; and as great part of his estates lay in Scotland, that his education might be corresponding to the duties which, on that account, he might have to perform, young Campbell was sent for two sessions to the university of Edinburgh, and that he might be under the eye of principal Robertson, he was, along with his tutor, boarded in the house of Mrs Syme, the principal's sister. During these two sessions, Mr Hill attended the divinity class and the meetings of the Speculative Society, where he acquired considerable eclat from a speech in praise of the aristocracy. He also waited on the General Assembly, in the debates of which he took so much interest as to express his wish to be returned to it as an elder. With Dr Robertson his intercourse was uninterrupted, and by him he was introduced to the notice of the principal men in and about Edinburgh. By his uncle, Dr M'Cormick, he was introduced at Arniston house, and in that family (Dundas) latterly found his most efficient patrons. While he was thus swelling the train of rank and fashion, it was his fortune to meet for the first time, dining at general Abercrombie's, with the celebrated David Hume, of whom he thus wrote immediately after: "I was very glad to be in company with a man about whom the world has talked so much; but I was greatly surprised with his appearance. I never saw a man whose language is more vulgar, or whose manners are more awkward. It is no affectation of rudeness as being a philosopher, but mere clownishness, which is very surprising in one who has been so much in high life, and many of whose writings display so much elegance." During all this time, the progress of his pupil was not commensurate to the expectations of his friends, and the expenses it occasioned; and with the approbation of his patron, lord Kinnoul, Mr Hill resigned his charge. Mr Morton, professor of Greek in the university of St Andrews, at this time wishing to retire on account of the infirmities of age, Mr Hill became a candidate, was elected after some little opposition, and on the 21st of May, 1772, was admitted joint professor of Greek, being yet only in the twenty-second year of his age. He now went to London with his former pupil, and visited Cambridge, where Mr Campbell was to finish his studies; and, having received from lord Kinnoul and Dr Robertson ample testimonials to the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged his duty while residing in Edinburgh, the family parted with him, expressing their thankfulness, their respect, and regret. Returning to Scotland, he spent some time with his uncle, preparing for meeting with his class, which he did in the end of the year 1772. The duties of this charge did not prevent him from various other pursuits. In the year 1774, Mr Campbell, in order to make the most of his parliamentary interest in the shire of Nairn, gave to a number of his friends votes upon life-rent superiorities, and among others conferred one upon Mr Hill, who, while at Nairn performing his friendly office as one of Mr Campbell's voters, nearly lost his life by sleeping in a room that had been newly plastered. His groans, however, happened to be heard, and a physician being in the house to give immediate assistance, he was soon recovered. The year following, he formed the resolution of entering the church, and having made application to the presbytery of Haddington, with which, through his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick, he considered himself in some sort connected, he was by that reverend court licensed to preach the gospel on the 3d of May, 1775. He was immediately after this employed as assistant to principal Tullidolph in the parochial church of St Leonard's, which has always been united with the principalty of the college. In this situation, he continued till the death of principal Tullidolph in the year 1777. The same year he was offered the parish of Coldstream by the earl of Haddington; but he

did not think it worth accepting. The following year, on the death of Dr Baillie, professor of theology in the college of Glasgow, principal Robertson desired him to stand candidate for that chair; but he seems to have taken no steps for that purpose, probably from the circumstance of his being only a preacher, which might have operated against him in case of a well supported candidate coming forward. The same year, probably to be ready in case of a similar emergency, he again applied to the presbytery of Haddington, and was by them ordained to the holy ministry. In the year 1779, through the interest of principal Robertson, and his uncle Dr M'Cormick, he was offered one of the churches of Edinburgh, with the prospect of a chair in the university in a short time. This also he declined with a view to some contemplated arrangements of lord Kinnoul. In consequence of the death of principal Morison, Dr Gillespie was shortly after removed from the first charge in the city to the principality of the new college. Dr Adamson, the second minister, was promoted to Dr Gillespie's benefice, and Mr Hill was elected by the town-council successor to Dr Adamson. In consequence of his holding the professorship of Greek, Mr Hill's induction was protested against by a member of the presbytery of St Andrews, and the case was brought before the General Assembly in the year 1780, which dismissed it without ceremony, as it did also overtures on the subject from the synods of Fife, Perth, and Stirling. Mr Hill was, accordingly, with the full concurrence of the congregation, admitted to the church in which his father had officiated, on the 22nd day of June, 1780. Since his settlement at St Andrews as a professor of Greek, he had sat in the General Assembly as an elder; he now appeared in the more weighty character of a minister, and on the retirement of Dr Robertson became the most important member of the house, and confessedly the leader of the moderates.

We have already noticed his acceptance of a life-rent superiority, by which he became a freeholder in the county of Nairn in the year 1774. He continued to stand on the roll of freeholders for that county till the winter of 1784, when a new election came on; but Mr Campbell, from being on the side of the ministry, was now violent on the side of the opposition. In this case, for Mr Hill to have given his vote to Mr Campbell's candidate would have been considered by the ministry as open rebellion against their claims on the church, for which they might have selected another leader, and have, at the same time, withdrawn every mark of their favour from him. They might also have prosecuted him before the judiciary on a charge of perjury, as they had already done some others in similar circumstances. Under this complication of difficulties, Mr Hill as usual had recourse to the earl of Kinnoul, and to his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick. Lord Kinnoul most ingeniously gave him back his own views; did not, as chancellor of the university think he was warranted to allow him to desert his professional duties for the purpose merely of giving a political vote; and stated, that though he himself could have greatly extended his interest by such votes as Mr Hill possessed, he had never granted one of them. A charge of perjury he admitted, might be brought against any person who received them, and whether it might be well founded or not, it was a charge to which, in his opinion, no minister of the gospel should expose himself. The judgment of his lordship we cannot but approve, though it is probable that if the candidate had been a ministerial one, the Greek class might have been allowed a few holidays without the smallest impropriety. Mr Murray, while he regretted (though he no doubt knew it from the first,) that his friend should ever have accepted such a vote, applauded his purpose of relinquishing it, and of refusing, under all circumstances, to comply with the requisition to attend the election. Mr Hill's biographer labours hard to clear him from any degree of blame in this affair,

but without effect: it carries its character full in its face, and holds up a most important lesson to all clergymen, to beware of intermeddling in political intrigues of any kind.

In 1787 Mr Hill was honoured by the university with the title of D.D., and in 1788 was appointed to succeed Dr Spens as professor of divinity in St Mary's college. He had been the previous year appointed dean to the order of the thistle, a place that had been first created to gratify Dr Jardine for his services in support of Dr Robertson, but with no stated salary; the dean only claiming a perquisite of fifty guineas on the installation of every new knight. During Dr Hill's incumbency, no instalment took place, and he of course derived no pecuniary benefit from the situation. He had been little more than three years in the divinity chair, when the situation of principal became vacant by the death of Dr Gillespie, and it was by lord Melville bestowed on Dr Hill. This appointment in his letter of thanks he considered as peculiarly valuable, as being the best proof that lord Melville approved the mode in which he had discharged the duties of the divinity professorship. "I will not attempt, he continues, to express by words the gratitude which I feel; but it shall be the study of my life to persevere as a clergyman in that line of conduct upon which you have generously conferred repeated marks of your approbation." This was the termination of his university preferment; but he was shortly afterwards nominated one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland, with a salary annexed; and, on the death of his uncle Dr McCormick, he succeeded him as one of the deans of the chapel royal. The deanery of the thistle already noticed was unproductive; but the above two situations, while they added nothing to his labours, increased his income in a material degree. In his management of the General Assembly Dr Hill copied closely after Dr Robertson; except that the entire satisfaction of himself and his party with the law of patronage as it then stood, was marked by withdrawing from the yearly instructions to the commission, the accustomed order to embrace every opportunity of having it removed, and by still bolder attempts to do away with the form of moderating calls for presentees and to induct them solely upon the footing of presentations. In his progress Dr Hill certainly encountered a more formidable opposition than Dr Robertson latterly had to contend with. In one case, and in one only, he was completely defeated. This was an overture from the presbytery of Jedburgh concerning the imposition of the Test upon members of the established church of Scotland, which it was contended was an infringement of the rights of Scotsmen, and a gross violation of the privileges and independence of the Scottish church. In opposition to the overture it was maintained by the moderates of the assembly that the Test Act was a fundamental article of the treaty of union; and Dr Hill, in particular, remarked that there were no complaints on the subject except from one single presbytery, nor was there any ground to complain; for, to a liberal and enlightened mind it could be no hardship to partake of the Lord's Supper according to the mode sanctioned by a church whose views of the nature and design of that ordinance were the same with his own. For once the popular party gained a triumph, and the accomplished and ingenious leader was left in a minority. A series of resolutions moved by Sir Henry Moncrieff were adopted, and by the unanimous voice of the assembly a committee was appointed to follow out the spirit and purpose of these resolutions. Care, however, was taken to render the committee of no avail, and nearly thirty years elapsed without any thing further being done. We cannot enlarge on Dr Hill's administration of the affairs of the church, and it is the less necessary that no particular change was effected under him. Matters generally went on as usual, and the influence of political men in biasing her decisions were, perhaps, fully

more conspicuous than under his predecessor. Of his expertness in business, and general powers of management, the very highest sense was entertained by the public, though differences of opinion latterly threatened to divide his supporters.

In 1807 Dr Hill had a severe attack, from which it was apprehended he would not recover; contrary to all expectation he did recover, and the following year, on the death of Dr Adamson, he was presented to the first ecclesiastical charge in the city of St Andrews. Eight years after, namely, in 1816, we find him as active in the General Assembly as at any former period of his life. Shortly after this time, however, he was attacked with slight shocks of apoplexy, which impaired his speech, and unfitted him for his accustomed exercises. He was no more heard in the assembly house; but he continued to preach occasionally to his own congregation till the year 1819, when he was laid aside from all public duty. He died on the 19th of December that year, in the seventieth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his ministry.

Dr Hill married in 1789, Miss Scott, daughter to Mr Scott, a citizen of Edinburgh, who had chosen St Andrews as his place of retirement in his old age, after he had given up business. By this lady, who survived him, Dr Hill had a large family, several of whom are yet alive. His eldest son is Dr Alexander Hill, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. In a life of principal Hill, it would be unpardonable to pass over his various publications, some of which possess high excellence. We cannot, however, afford room for criticism, and shall merely notice them in a general way. Single sermons seem to have been his first publications, though they are mentioned by his biographer in a very indistinct manner. One of these, preached before the sons of the clergy, seems to have been sent to the bishop of London, whose commendation it received. Another, from the text, "Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord?" was published in the year 1792, as a sedative to the popular excitement produced by the French revolution. The sermon was an unmeasured panegyric on the existing order of things in Great Britain, and had, for a short time, an immense popularity. "I believe it will be agreeable to you," writes his bookseller, "to inform you that I have had success with respect to your sermon, beyond my most sanguine imagination. I have written a hundred letters upon the subject, and have got all the capital manufacturers in Scotland to enter into my idea. I have printed off ten thousand copies of the coarse, and one thousand copies of the fine. I have got letters of thanks from many capital persons, with proper compliments to you. \* \* \* I congratulate you upon the extensive circulation of the sermon, for never was such a number of a sermon sold in this country before, and I flatter myself it will, in a great measure, answer the purpose for which it was intended." The following year he published a third sermon, "Instructions afforded by the present war to the people of Great Britain." In 1795, he published a volume of sermons, which is said to have met with limited success. Several years after, Dr Hill published "Theological Institutes," containing Heads of his Lectures on Divinity, a work which continues to be highly estimated as a theological text-book; "a View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland;" and "Counsels respecting the duties of the Pastoral Office." This last is an interesting and valuable work. In 1812, he published, "Lectures, upon portions of the Old Testament, intended to illustrate Jewish history and Scripture characters." To this work is prefixed the following dedication: "To the congregation which attends the author's ministry, this specimen of a Course of Lectures, in which he led them through the Books of the Old Testament, is, with the most grateful sense of their kindness, and the most affectionate wishes for their welfare, respectfully inscribed." There



is no mode of publication a minister can adopt so likely to be useful as this. It gives a most pleasing idea of a clergyman when he thus takes, as it were, a last farewell of his people, who cannot fail to peruse a work bequeathed to them under such circumstances, with peculiar interest. These lectures, we doubt not, were regarded among his parishioners more than all his other works. Of Dr Hill's character the reader has been furnished with materials for forming a judgment for himself. His precocious abilities, his talents for adapting himself to the uses of the world, his diligence in all his offices, and his powers of managing public business and popular assemblies, conspire to mark him out as a very extraordinary man. It may only be remarked that, for the most of tastes, his conduct will in general appear too much that of a courtier.

HOG, (SIR) ROGER, lord Harcarse, a judge and statesman, was born in Berwickshire about the year 1635. He was the son of William Hog of Bogend, an advocate of respectable reputation, to whom is attributed the merit of having prepared some useful legal works, which have unfortunately not been given to the public. The subject of this memoir passed as an advocate in June 1661, and continued in the enjoyment of a lucrative and successful practice, till a breach between Nisbet of Dirleton, and the powerful and vindictive Hatton, opened for him a situation on the bench on the resignation of that judge in 1677; being marked out by the government as a useful instrument, the appointment was accompanied with the honours of knighthood from Charles the Second. At this period the judges of the Scottish courts, like ministerial officers, held their situations by the frail tenure of court favour, and were the servants, not of the laws, but of the king. It was the good fortune of Harcarse to be, in the earlier part of his career, particularly favoured by the ruling powers; and on the 18th November, 1678, we accordingly find Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill summarily dismissed from the bench of the court of justiciary, and Harcarse appointed to fill his place. At this period he represented the county of Berwick in the Scottish parliament, an election which, from the journals of the house, we find to have been disputed, and finally decided in his favour. A supreme judge of the civil and criminal tribunals, and a member of the legislative body, Harcarse must have had difficult and dangerous duties to perform. The times were a labyrinth full of snares in which the most wary went astray: few of those who experienced the sunshine of royal favour, passed with credit before the public eye, and none were blameless. Among the many deeds of that bloody reign, which mankind might well wish to cover with a veil of eternal oblivion, was one daring and unsuccessful attempt, with regard to which, the conduct of Harcarse, in such an age and in such a situation, had he been known for nothing else, is worthy of being commemorated. In 1681, the privy council had called on Sir George M'Kenzie, as lord advocate, to commence a prosecution for treason and perjury against the earl of Argyle, for his celebrated explanation of his understanding of the contradictions of the test. To the eternal disgrace of that eminent man, he brought with him to the prosecution those high powers of argument and eloquence with which he had so frequently dignified many a better cause. The relevancy of the indictment was the ground on which the unfortunate earl and his counsel, Sir George Lockhart, placed their whole reliance, but they leaned on a broken reed. In a midnight conclave, held it would appear after the minds of most of the judges were sufficiently fatigued by the effect of a long day of labour, the full depth of iniquity was allowed to the crime "of interpreting the king's statutes other than the statute bears, and to the intent and effect that they were made for, and as the makers of them understood." Queensberry, who presided as justice general, having himself been obliged to accompany the oath with a qualification, remained neuter, and to oppose the insult on sense and justice,

was left to Harcarse, and Collington, a veteran cavalier. In order to do the business with certainty, and prevent his majesty's interest from being sacrificed to opposition so unusual and captious, Nairn, an infirm and superannuated judge, was dragged from his bed at dead of night, and the feeble frame of the old man yielding to the desire of sleep while the clerk read to him a summary of the proceedings, he was roused from his slumber, and by his vote the relevancy of the indictment was carried by a majority of one. The course pursued by lord Harcarse in this trial escaped the vengeance of government at the time, but his conduct was held in remembrance for a future opportunity. In the year 1688, a question came before the court of session, in which the matter at issue was, whether a tutory, named by the late marquis of Montrose, should subsist after the death of one of the tutors, who had been named, in the language of the Scottish law, as a "*sine qua non*." In a matter generally left to the friends of the pupil, the unusual measure of the *instance* of the lord advocate was adopted by government, for the purpose of having the pupil educated in the Roman catholic faith. Wauchope lord Edmonstone and Harcarse voted for the continuance of the trust in the remaining tutors, and on a letter from the king, intimating to the court that, "for reasons best known to himself," it was his royal will and pleasure that they should cease to act as judges, both were removed from the bench, "notwithstanding," says Fountainhall, with some apparent astonishment, "that Edmonston was brother to Wauchop of Nidrie, a papist." The doctrine of the law, previously vacillating, has since this decision been considered as properly fixed, according to the votes of the majority; but an opposition to the will of government in such a matter can be attributed to no other motives but such as are purely conscientious. Other opinions on government and prerogative, maintained in a private conference with some of the leaders of the ministry, are alleged to have contributed to this measure; but these were never divulged. At the period of his downfall, a public attack was made on the character of lord Harcarse, on the ground of improper judicial interference in favour of his son-in-law, Aytoun of Inchdarnie, by an unsuccessful litigant. These animadversions are contained in a very curious pamphlet, entitled "*Oppression under colour of Law; or, my Lord Harcarse his new Practicks: as a way-marke for peaceable subjects to beware of playing with a hot-spirited lord of Session, so far as is possible when Arbitrary Government is in the Dominion*," by Robert Pittilloch, advocate, London, 1689.<sup>1</sup> The injured party is loud in accusation; and certainly if all the facts in his long confused legal narrative be true, he had reason to be discontented. He mentions one rather striking circumstance, that while the case was being debated at the side bar of the lord ordinary, previous to its coming before the other judges, "my lord Harcarse compeared in his purple gown, and debated the case as Inchdarnie's advocate;" a rather startling fact to those who are acquainted with the comparatively pure course of modern justice, and which serves with many others to show the fatal influence of private feeling on our earlier judges, by whom an opportunity of turning judicial influence towards family aggrandizement, seems always to have been considered a gift from providence not to be rashly despised. After the Revolution, the path of honour and wealth was again opened to lord Harcarse, but he declined the high stations proffered to him; and the death of a favourite and accomplished daughter, joined to a disgust at the machinations of the court, prompted by his misfortunes, seems to have worked on a feeble frame, and disposed him to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He died in the year 1700, in the 65th year of his age, leaving behind him a collection of decisions from 1681 to 1692, published in 1757, in the form of a dictionary, a useful and well arranged compilation. The pamphlet of

<sup>1</sup> Re-edited by Mr Maidment, Advocate, in 1827.

the unsuccessful litigant, previously alluded to, though dictated by personal and party spleen, has certainly been sufficient somewhat to tinge the judicial integrity of lord Harcaroe; but those who had good reason to know his qualities have maintained, that "both in his public and private capacity, he was spoken of by all parties with honour, as a person of great knowledge and probity;"<sup>2</sup> it would indeed be hard to decide how far the boasted virtues of any age might stand the test of the opinion of some more advanced and pure stage of society, did we not admit that in a corrupt period, the person who is less vicious than his contemporaries is a man of virtue and probity; hence one who was a profound observer of human nature, an accurate calculator of historical evidence, and intimately acquainted with the state of the times, has pronounced Harcaroe to have been "a learned and upright judge."<sup>3</sup> Some unknown poet has penned a tribute to his memory, of which, as it displays more elegance of versification and propriety of sentiment than are generally to be discovered in such productions, we beg to extract a portion.

"The good, the godly, generous, and kind  
The best companion, father, husband, friend;  
The stoutest patron to maintain a cause,  
The justest judge to square it by the laws;  
Whom neither force nor flattery could incline  
To swerve from equity's eternal line;  
Who, in the face of tyranny could own,  
He would his conscience keep, though lose his gown;  
Who, in his private and retired state  
As useful was, as formerly when great,  
Because his square and firmly tempered soul,  
Round whirling fortune's axis could not roll;  
Nor, by the force of prejudice or pride,  
Be bent his kindness to forego or bide,  
But still in equal temper, still the same,  
Esteeming good men, and esteemed by them;  
A rare example and encouragement  
Of virtue with an aged life, all spent  
Without a stain, still flourishing and green,  
In pious acts, more to be felt than seen."

HOLYBUSH, JOHN, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, better known by the Latin terms, de Sacrobosco, or de Sacrobusto, occasionally also receiving the vernacular appellations of Holywood and Hallifax, and by one writer barbarously named *Sacerbuschius*. The period when this eminent man flourished is not known with any thing approaching even to the usual certainty in such cases, and it is matter of doubt whether he existed in the 13th or 14th century. Nor is his birth-place less dubious; as in many other instances during the same period, England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour—the two former with almost equal success, the last with apparently no more claim than the absence of certain evidence of his belonging to any other particular nation. When a man has acquired a fame apart from his own country, and in any pursuit not particularly characteristic of, or connected with his native land, the establishment of a certainty of the exact spot of his birth is of little consequence, and when easily ascertained, the fact is only useful for the purpose of pointing out the particular branch of biography (as that subject is generally divided) to which the individual belongs, and thus preventing omission and confusion. Entertain-

<sup>2</sup> Memoir prefixed to his *Decisions*.

<sup>3</sup> Laing's *Hist. of Scot.* iv. 123.

ing such an opinion, we shall just glance at the arguments adduced by the writers of the two nations in defence of their respective claims, and not pretending to decide a matter of such obscurity, consider it a sufficient reason why he should be a fit subject for commemoration in this work, that no decision can be come to betwixt the claimants. It will be very clear, where there are doubts as to the century in which he lived, that he is not mentioned by any authors who did not exist at least a century or two later. In an edition of one of his works, published at Lyons in 1606, it is said, "*Patria fuit quæ nunc Anglia Insula, olim Albion et Brettania appellata.*" Although the apparent meaning of this sentence inclines towards an opinion that our author was an Englishman, the sentence has an aspect of considerable ignorance of the divisions of Britain, and confounds the England of later times, with the Albion or Britannia of the Romans, which included England and Scotland. Leland and Camden vindicate his English birth, on the ground that John of Halifax in Yorkshire forms a translation (though it must be admitted not a very apt one) of *Joannes de Sacrobosco*. On the other hand Dempster scouts the theory of Leland with considerable indignation, maintaining that Halifax is a name of late invention, and that the mathematician derived his designation from the monastery of Holywood in Nithsdale, an establishment of sufficient antiquity to have admitted him within its walls. M'Kenzie repeats the assertions of Dempster with a few additions, stating that after having remained for some years in the monastery, he went to Paris, and was admitted a member of the university there. "Upon the 5th of June, in the year 1291," Sibbald in his manuscript *History of Scottish Literature* asserts, that besides residing in the monastery of Holywood, he was for some time a fellow student of the monks in Dryburgh, and likewise mentions, what M'Kenzie has not had the candour to allude to, and Dempster has sternly denied, that he studied the higher branches of philosophy and mathematics at the university of Oxford. Presuming Holybush to have been a Scotsman, it is not improbable that such a circumstance as his having studied at Oxford might have induced his continental commentators to denominate him an Englishman. M'Kenzie tells us that he entered the university of Paris "under the syndic of the Scots nation;" for this he gives us no authority, and we are inclined not only to doubt the assertion, but even the circumstance that at that early period the Scottish nation had a vote in the university of Paris, disconnected with that of England—at all events, the historians of literature during that period are not in the habit of mentioning a Scottish nation or syndic, and instead of the faculty of arts being divided, as M'Kenzie will have it, "into four nations, France, Scotland, Picardy, and Normandy," it is usually mentioned as divided into France, Britain, Picardy, and Normandy. That Holybush was admitted under a Scottish syndic, was not a circumstance to be omitted by Buzæus, from his elaborate and minute *History of the University of Paris*, where the mathematician is unequivocally described as having been an Englishman. There cannot be any doubt that Holybush became celebrated at the university for his mathematical labours; that he was constituted professor of, or lecturer on that science; that many of the first scholars of France came to his school for instruction; and that if he was not the first professor of the mathematics in Paris, he was at least the earliest person to introduce a desire for following that branch of science. M'Kenzie states that he died in the year 1256, as appears from his tombstone. The author of the *History of the University of Paris*, referring with better means of knowledge to the same tombstone, which he says was to be seen at the period when he writes, places the date of his death at the year 1340. The same well informed author mentions that the high respect paid to his abilities and integrity, prompted the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Lit. Gentis Scot. M.S. Adv. Lib., p. 164.

university to honour him with a public funeral, and many demonstrations of grief. On the tombstone already referred to, was engraved an astrolabe, surrounded by the following inscription :—

“ De Sacrobosco qui computista Joannes,  
Tempora discevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus.  
Tempora qui sequeris, memor esto quod morieris;  
Si miseris, plora, miserans pro me precor ora.”

The most celebrated work of Holywood was a treatise on the Sphere, discussing in the first part the form, motion, and surface of the earth—in the second those of the heavenly bodies, and, as was customary before the more full revival of philosophy, mingling his mathematics and astronomy with metaphysics and magic. Although the discoveries displayed in this work must be of great importance, it is impossible to give any account of their extent, as the manuscripts of the author seem to have lain dormant till the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, when they were repeatedly published, with the comments and additions of able mathematicians, who mingled the discoveries of Holybush with those which had been made since his death. The earliest edition of this work appears to have been that published at Padua in 1475, entitled “Francisci Capuani expositio Sphæræ Joannis a Sacrobosco.” In 1485 appeared “Sphæra cum Theoricis Purbachii et Disputationibus Johannis Regiomontani contra Cremonensium Deliramenta in Planetarum Theoricis,” being a mixture of the discoveries of Holywood, with those of George Purbach, (so called from the name of a town in Germany, in which he was born,) and Regiomontanus, whose real name was Muller, two celebrated astronomers and mathematicians of the 15th century. During the same year there appears to have been published a commentary on Holywood by Cichus Ascolanus. In 1507, appeared an edition for the use of the university of Paris, with a commentary, by John Bonatus. In 1547, an edition was published at Antwerp, with figures very respectably executed, and without the name of any commentator. Among his other commentators, were Morisanius, Clavius, Vinetus, and many others of high name, whom it were useless here to enumerate. Some late authors have said that Melancthon edited his *Computus Ecclesiasticus*; of this edition we have not observed a copy in any library or bibliography, but that great man wrote a preface to the *Sphæra*, prefixed to an edition published at Paris in 1550. Besides these two works, Holybush wrote *De Algorismo*, and *De Ratione Anni*. Dempster also mentions a *Breviarium Juris*, which either has never existed, or is now lost. M’Kenzie mentions a *Treatise de Algorismo*, and on Ptolemy’s *Astrolabe*, fragments of which existed in MS. in the Bodleian library. In the catalogue of that institution the former is mentioned, but not the latter.

HOME, HENRY, (LORD KAMES,) a lawyer and metaphysician, son of George Home of Kames, was born at his father’s house in the county of Berwick, in the year 1696. The paternal estate of the family, which had once been considerable, was, at the period of the birth of the subject of this memoir, considerably burdened and reduced by the extravagance of his father, who appears to have pursued an easy hospitable system of living, unfortunately not compatible with a small income and a large family. With the means of acquiring a liberal education, good connexions, and the expectation of no permanent provision but the fruit of his own labours, the son was thrown upon the world, and the history of all ages has taught us, that among individuals so circumstanced, science has chosen her brightest ornaments, and nations have found their most industrious and powerful benefactors. In the earlier part of the last century, few of the country gentlemen of Scotland could afford to bestow on their children the ex-

pensive education of an English university, and an intuitive horror at a contact with the lower ranks, frequently induced them to reject the more simple system of education provided by the universities of Scotland. Whether from this or some other cause, young Home was denied a public education, and received instructions from a private tutor of the name of Wingate, of whose talents and temper he appears to have retained no happy recollection.<sup>1</sup> The classical education which he received from this man appears to have been of a very imperfect description, and although on entering the study of his profession, he turned his attention for some length of time to that branch of study, he never acquired a knowledge of ancient languages sufficiently minute to balance his other varied and extensive acquirements. Mr Home was destined by his family to follow the profession of the law, the branch first assigned him being that of an agent. He was in consequence apprenticed to a writer to the signet in the year 1719, and he continued for several years to perform the usual routine of drudgery, unpleasant to a cultivated and thinking mind, but one of the best introductions to the accurate practice of the more formal part of the duties of the bar. The ample biographer of Home has detailed in very pleasing terms the accident to which he dates his ambition to pursue a higher branch of the profession than that to which he was originally destined. The scene of action is represented as being the drawing room of Sir Hew Dalrymple, lord president of the court of session, where Home, on a message from his master, finds the veteran judge in the full enjoyment of elegant ease, with his daughter, a young beauty, performing some favourite tunes on the harpsichord. "Happy the man," the sentimental youth is made to say to himself, "whose old age, crowned with honour and dignity, can thus repose itself after the useful labours of the day, in the bosom of his family, amidst all the elegant enjoyments which affluence, justly earned, can command! such are the fruits of eminence in the profession of the law!" If Home ever dated his final choice of a profession from the occurrence of this incident, certain praises which the president chose to bestow on his acuteness and knowledge of Scottish law, may have been the part of the interview which chiefly influenced his determination.

Having settled the important matter of his future profession, Mr Home applied himself to the study of the laws, not through the lectureship which had just been established in Edinburgh for that purpose, but by means of private reading, and attendance at the courts. He seems indeed to have entertained an early objection to the discipline of a class-room, and to have shown an independence of thought, and repugnance to direction in his mental pursuits, which have been by some of his admirers laid down as the germs of that originality which his works have exhibited. Perhaps the same feeling of self-assurance prompted him in the year 1733, to address a long epistle to Dr Samuel Clarke, "from a young philosopher," debating some of that learned divine's opinions on the necessity, omnipotence, and omniscience of the Deity. A very concise and

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, in his life of Kames, mentions an amusing scene which took place betwixt the scholar and master some time after their separation. When Home was at the height of his celebrity as a barrister, the pedagogue had contrived to amass a sum of money, which he cautiously secured on land. Anxious about the security of his titles, he stalked one morning into the study of his former pupil, requesting an opinion of their validity. The lawyer having carefully examined the several steps of the investment, assumed an aspect of concern, and hoped Mr Wingate had not concluded the bargain; but Mr Wingate had concluded the bargain, and so he had the pleasure to listen to a long summary of objections, with which the technical knowledge of his former pupil enabled him to pose the uninitiated. When the lawyer was satisfied with the effect of his art, the poor man was relieved from the torture, with an admonition, which it were to be wished all followers of "the delightful task" would hold in mind: "You may remember, sir, how you made me smart in days of yore for very small offences—now I think our accounts are closed. Take up your papers, man, and go home with an easy mind; your titles are excellent."

polite answer was returned, for the brevity of which the writer excuses himself, "as it is according to his custom, and the time allowed him for such matters." No encouragement was given to continue the correspondence, and the application was not repeated. He appears at the same time to have maintained a conference with Mr Andrew Baxter, on certain points of natural philosophy; but that gentleman finding it impossible to bend the young philosopher's mind to the conviction, that motion was not the effect of repeated impulses, but of one impulse, the effect of which continues till counteracted, (the doctrine generally received by the learned world,) seems to have lost all proper philosophical patience, and given up the controversy in a fit of anger.

Mr Home put on the gown of an advocate in the year 1733, when there were, as there ever will be in such institutions, many eminent men at the Scottish bar; but although many were respectable both for their talents and integrity, it could not be said that more than one revered individual, Forbes of Culloden, was justly illustrious, for a distinguished display of the former, or an uncompromising and undeviating maintenance of the latter quality. The baneful corruptions of family and ministerial influence, which had long affected the court, ceased to characterize it: but their shadows still hovered around their former dwelling-place, and many curious little private documents on which the world has accidentally stumbled, have shown that the most respectable guardians of justice, have not administered the law uninfluenced by some of those little worldly motives which affect a man in the management of his own affairs. From the period when Mr Home commenced his practice at the bar, he seems to have for a time forgot his metaphysics, and turned the whole of his discriminating and naturally vigorous intellect to the study of the law; in 1738 he published the first of his numerous works, a collection of the "Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session," from 1716 to 1738, a work purely professional, which from the species of technical study being seldom embodied by an author so comparatively youthful, seems to have attracted much attention from the court and the leading lawyers of the time. It is probable that the hue and arrangement given to the pleadings, now the chief defect of that compilation, may have rendered it at the time it was published attractive from the originality of the method. A small volume of essays "upon several subjects in Scots Law," which he published four years afterwards, afforded more scope for ingenuity and refinement of reasoning than could possibly be infused into other men's arguments; and in the choice of the subjects, and the method of treating them, full advantage has been taken of the license. Such of the arguments and observations as stood the test of more mature consideration, were afterwards embodied by the author in one of his more extensive popular law books. Mr Home seems to have been one of those gifted individuals who could enjoy hilarity without dissipation, and gayety without frivolity. In early life he gathered round him a knot of familiar and congenial spirits, with whom he enjoyed the fashionable and literary society of Edinburgh, then by no means despicable as a school of politeness, and just dawning into a high literary celebrity. Hamilton of Bangour, Oswald, and lord Binning, were among his early and familiar friends, and though he soon extended to more gifted minds the circle of his philosophical correspondence, an early intercourse with men so refined and learned must have left a lasting impression on his susceptible intellect.

In 1741, at the prudent age of forty-seven, Mr Home married Miss Agatha Drummond, a younger daughter of Mr Drummond of Blair, in Perthshire, a lady of whom we hear little, except that she had a turn for quiet humour, and that she perplexed her husband's economical principles by an inordinate affection for old china, being in other respects generally reported to have been a prudent and

docile wife. In 1741, Mr Home published the well known Dictionary of the Decisions of the Court of Session, afterwards continued and perfected by his friend and biographer, lord Woodhouselee; a very laborious work, and of great practical utility, though now superseded by the gigantic compilation of Morison, and the elaborate digest of the late Mr Brown. During the rebellion of 1745, the business of the court of session was suspended for eleven months, and those lawyers whose minds were not engaged in the feverish struggles of the times, had to seek some occupation in their retirement. Mr Home seems at no time to have busied himself in active politics, excepting such as came within the range of his judicial duties—and the early predilection of his family to the support of the Stuart dynasty, may have been an additional motive for his preserving a strict neutrality during that disorderly period. In the midst of his retirement, he gathered into a few short treatises, which, in 1747, he published under the title of “*Essays upon several subjects concerning British Antiquities*,” some facts and observations intended to allay the unhappy differences of the period, although it is rather doubtful whether the Highlanders or their intelligent chiefs found any solace for their defeat and subjection to the laws, in discussions on the authority of the *Regiam Majestatem*, or nice theories of descent. The subjects discussed are of a highly useful and curious nature; and had the author brought to the work an extensive collection of facts, and a disposition to launch into no theories but such as his own good sense dictated to be applicable and sound, the country might have had to thank him for a just and satisfactory account of her ancient laws and customs, and the rise of the constitution, which the talent of her bar has not yet produced. But these essays are brief and desultory, the facts are few and paltry, and the reasoning fanciful and unsatisfactory. The arguments against “the Hereditary and Indefeasible Right of Kings,” if they ever produced any good effect, would certainly constitute a proof that the human mind, as exhibited in any arguments which might be used by his opponents, was then more perverted by prejudice, than it is generally believed to have been in any civilized country. To the truisms contained in that essay, the refinements on hereditary descent form a curious converse; where the feudal system has its origin from the tendency of bodies in motion to continue in a straight line, and the consequent tendency of the mind to pursue its objects in a course equally direct, which proves that, “as in tracing out a family, the mind descends by degrees from the father first to the eldest son, and so downwards in the order of age, the eldest son, where but one can take, is the first who presents himself.”

The next production of Mr Home’s pen, was one of a nature more congenial to his habits of thought:—in 1751, he published “*Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*.” One of the grand leading aims of this work, is the maintenance of innate ideas, or principles of right and wrong, in opposition to the opinions of Locke and Hume. After the clear logical deductions of these great men, the duty of an opponent was a task of difficulty; while it is at the same time generally allowed by both parties in this grand question, that the view adopted by lord Kames, while it agrees more happily with the general feelings of the world, cannot bear the application of the same chain of clear and subtle reasoning which distinguishes the position of his antagonists. Like too many of the best works on metaphysics, the *Essays on Morality* give more instruction from the ingenuity of the arguments, and the aspects of the human mind brought before the reader in the course of deducing them, than in the abstract truths presumed to be demonstrated. It has been frequently noticed, to the prejudice of most of the works of the same author, that, instead of arranging his arguments for the support of some general principle, he has subdivided his principles, and so



failed to bring his arguments to a common point. The failing, if characteristic of lord Kames, was not unusual at the period, and is one which time, and the advantage of the labours of previous thinkers, tend to modify;—in the work we are just considering, the line of argument maintained bids defiance to the adoption of any one general principle, while much confusion is prevented, by the author having given a definition of what he understands those laws of nature to which he refers our consciousness of good and evil to consist of. Although the author in the advertisement avows the purpose of his work to be “to prepare the way for a proof of the existence of the Deity,” and terminates the whole with a very pious and orthodox prayer, he had the fortune to bring the church of Scotland like a hornet’s nest about him, on the ground of certain principles tending to infidelity, which some of its active adherents had scented out in his arguments. A zealous clergyman of the name of Anderson published, in 1753, “An Estimate of the Profit and Loss of Religion, personally and publicly stated; illustrated with references to Essays on Morality and Natural Religion;” in which the unfortunate philosopher is treated with no more politeness than the opponent of any given polemical disputant deserves. This blast of the trumpet was followed up by an “Analysis” of the same subject, “addressed to the consideration of the church of Scotland;” and the parties rousing themselves for battle, the hand of the respected Dr Blair, stretched forth in moderation of party rancour, and defence of his esteemed friend, protracted but did not prevent the issue. A motion was made in the committee for overtures of the General Assembly, “How far it was proper for them to call before them, and censure the authors of infidel books.” After a stormy debate the motion was lost, but the indefatigable Mr Anderson presented in name of himself and those who adhered to his opinions, a petition and complaint to the presbytery of Edinburgh, praying that the author of the Essays on Morality, &c. might be censured “according to the law of the gospel, and the practice of this and all other well governed churches.” Defences were given in, and the petitioner obtained leave to reply, but before the matter came to a conclusion he had breathed his last, and the soul of the controversy perishing along with him, lord Kames was left to pursue his philosophical studies unmolested. The chief subject of this controversy, may be discovered in the curious and original views maintained by the author of the essays, on the subject of liberty and necessity. Full freedom to the will of mankind he maintains to be in opposition to the existence and operation of a Deity, who pre-judges all his actions, and has given him certain motives which he cannot avoid following; while, to preserve common uniformity with the doctrine of an innate sense of right and wrong previously maintained, the author is obliged to admit that man must have a consciousness of free-will, to enable him to act according to that innate sense: he therefore arrives at a sort of intermediate doctrine, which may be said to maintain, that while the will is not in reality free, it is the essence of our nature that it should appear to us to be so. “Let us fairly own,” says the author, “that the truth of things is on the side of necessity; but that it was necessary for man to be formed with such feelings and notions of contingency, as would fit him for the part he has to act.” “It is true that a man of this belief, when he is seeking to make his mind easy after some bad action, may reason upon the principles of necessity, that, according to the constitution of his nature, it was impossible for him to have acted any other part. But this will give him little relief. In spite of all reasonings his remorse will subsist. Nature never intended us to act upon this plan: and our natural principles are too deeply rooted to give way to philosophy.” \*\*\* “These discoveries are also of excellent use, as they furnish us with one of the strongest arguments for the existence of the Deity, and as they set the wisdom and goodness of his

providence in the most striking light. Nothing carries in it more express characters of design; nothing can be conceived more opposite to chance, than a plan so artfully contrived for adjusting our impressions and feelings to the purposes of life." The doctrine may appear at first sight anomalous; but it displays equal ingenuity in its discovery, and acuteness in its support, and is well worthy of the deepest attention. A certain clergyman of the church of Scotland is said to have seen in this theory an admirable exposition of the doctrine of predestination, and to have hailed the author as a brother; and certainly a little comparison will show no slight analogy betwixt the two systems; but other persons thought differently, and the reverend gentleman was superseded. These fiery controversies have carried us beyond an event which served to mitigate their rancour—the elevation of Mr Home to the bench of the court of session, where he took his seat in February, 1752, by the title of lord Kames; an appointment which, as it could not be but agreeable and satisfactory to the learned and ingenious, seems to have met the general concurrence and approbation of the common people of the country. Arguing from the productions of his pen, no one would hesitate to attribute to lord Kames those qualities of acuteness, ingenuity, and plausible interpretation, necessary for the acquirement of distinction and success at the bar—but that he was characterized by the unprejudiced and unwavering uprightness of the judge, whose conclusions are formed less on finely spun theories and sophisms than on those firm doctrines of right and wrong which can form a guide alike to the ignorant and the learned, would seem questionable, had we not the best authority to believe, that his strong good sense, and knowledge of justice, taught him as a judge to desert, on most occasions, the pleasing speculations which occupied his mind as a lawyer. "He rarely," says Tytler, "entered into any elaborate argument in support of his opinions; it was enough that he had formed them with deliberation, and that they were the result of a conscientious persuasion of their being founded on justice, and on a fair interpretation of the laws." Unfortunately there are some exceptions to this general characteristic; refined speculation seldom entirely deserts its favourite abode, and in some few instances lord Kames was a special pleader on the bench.

In 1755, lord Kames was appointed a member of the board of trustees, for the encouragement of the fisheries, arts, and manufactures of Scotland, and likewise one of the commissioners for the management of the annexed estates, on both of which important duties it would appear he bestowed the attention his ever active mind enabled him to direct to many different subjects. In the midst of his varied judicial and ministerial labours, two legal works appeared from the pen of lord Kames. "The Statute Law of Scotland abridged, with Historical Notes," published in 1759, was never known beyond the library of the Scots lawyer, and has now almost fallen into disuse even there. "Historical Law Tracts," published in 1757, was of a more ambitious sort, and acquired something beyond professional celebrity. The matters discussed in this volume are exceedingly miscellaneous, and present a singular mixture of "first principles" of morality, metaphysics, &c., and Scots law. The author has here displayed, in the strongest light, his usual propensity for hunting all principles so far back into the misty periods of their origin, that, attempting to find the lost traces of the peculiar idea he is following, he pursues some fanciful train of thought, which has just as much chance of being wrong as of being right. "I have often amused myself," says the author, "with a fanciful resemblance of law to the river Nile. When we enter upon the municipal law of any country in its present state, we resemble a traveller, who, crossing the Delta, loses his way among the numberless branches of the Egyptian river. But when we begin at the source, and follow the current of law, it is in that case no less easy and agreeable; and

all its relations and dependencies are traced with no greater difficulty than are the many streams into which that magnificent river is divided before it is lost in the sea." If the philosopher meant to compare his searches after first principles to the investigation of the source of the Nile, the simile was rather unfortunate, and tempts one by a parody to compare his speculations to those of one who will discover the navigability or fertilizing power of a river, by a confused and endless range among its various sources, when he has the grand main body of the river open to his investigations, from which he may find his way, by a sure and undoubted course, to its principal sources, should he deem it worth his while to penetrate them. This work exhibits in singularly strong colours the merits and defects of its author. While his ingenuity has led him into fanciful theories, and prompted him to attribute to the actions of barbarous governments subtle intentions of policy, of which the actors never dreamed, it has enabled him to point out connexions in the history of our law, and to explain the natural causes of anomalies, for which the practical juriconsult might have long looked in vain. The history of criminal jurisprudence is a prominent part of this work. The author attempts to confute the well founded theories of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many others, tracing the origin of punishment, and consequently the true principles of criminal jurisprudence, from the feelings of vindictiveness and indignation inherent in human nature when injured,—a principle we fear too often followed to require a particular vindication or approval. We cannot pass from this subject without attracting attention to the enlightened views thrown out by lord Kames on the subject of entails, views which he has seen the importance of frequently repeating and inculcating, though with many others he spoke to the deaf adder, who heeded not the wisdom of his words. He proposed the entire repeal of the statute of 1685, which, by an invention of the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, had been prepared for the purpose of clenching the fetters of Scots entails, in a manner which might put at defiance such efforts as had enabled the lawyers of England to release property from its chains. But the equity of the plan was shown in the manner in which the author proposed to settle the nice point of the adjustment of the claims on estates previously entailed. The regulations enforced by these he proposed should continue in force in as far as respected the interests of persons existing, but should neither benefit nor bind persons unborn at the time of the passing of the act proposed. Such an adjustment, though perhaps the best that could possibly be supposed, can only be put in practice with great difficulty; the circumstance of an heir being expected to be born, nearer than any heir alive, and numberless others of a similar nature, would render the application of the principle a series of difficulties. Lord Kames communicated his views on this subject to lord Hardwick and lord Mansfield, and these great judges admitted their propriety; it had been well had the warning voice been heeded—but at that period the allegiance of Scotland might have been endangered by such a measure. The duke of Argyle was then the only Scotsman not a lawyer, who could look without horror on an attempt to infringe on the divine right of the lairds.

In 1760, appeared another philosophically legal work from our author's prolific pen, entitled "*Principles of Equity*," composed with the ambitious view of reconciling the distinct systems of jurisprudence of the two nations—a book which might be of great use in a country where there is no law, and which, though it may now be applied to but little practical advantage in Scotland, it is rather humiliating to think, should have ever been considered requisite as a guide to our civil judges. But the opinions of this volume, which referred to the equity courts of England, received a kindly correction from a masterly hand. In tracing the jurisdiction of the court of chancery, lord Kames pre-

sumed it to be possessed of perfectly arbitrary powers, (something resembling those at one time enjoyed by the court of session,) enabling it to do justice according to the merits, in every case which the common law courts did not reach; and with great consideration laid down rules for the regulation of its decisions, forgetting that, if such rules could be applied to any court so purely arguing from circumstances and conscience, the rules of an act of parliament might have been as well chosen, and rather more strictly followed, than those of the Scottish judge. But it appears that lord Kames had formed erroneous ideas of the powers of the English equity courts; and in a portion of Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, attributed to the pen of lord Mansfield, he is thus corrected: "on the contrary, the system of our courts of equity is a laboured, connected system, governed by established rules, and bound down by precedents, from which they do not depart, although the reason of some of them may perhaps be liable to objection." Tytler, on all occasions the vindicator of his friend, has attempted to support the theory of lord Kames, by making Blackstone contradict himself: he has discovered the following passage in the Introduction to that author's works,—"Equity depending essentially upon the particular circumstances of each individual case, there can be no established rules and fixed precepts of equity laid down, without destroying its very essence, and reducing it to a positive law." But in this passage, he it recollected, the author speaks of courts of pure equity like the Prætorian tribunals of the Romans, untrammelled by act or precedent, and left entirely to judicial discretion, a species of institution of which he does not admit the existence in England. But let us not relinquish this subject, without bestowing our meed of approbation on the noble efforts which the learned author has made in this, and more effectually in others of his works, to reconcile the two countries to an assimilation in laws. There is no more common prejudice, than the feeling, that the approach of one country to the laws and customs of another, is not an act of expediency, but an acknowledgment of inferiority, and it generally requires a harsher struggle on the part of the weaker, than on that of the stronger people. It is frequently maintained that a love for ancient institutions, and a wish to continue them, however cumbersome, is the characteristic safeguard of freedom; but might it not be said, that the firmness of a nation consists in the obedience it pays to the laws while they exist, paying them not the less respect in their execution, that they look upon them as systems which should be altered by the legislative authority. "Our law," says lord Kames, "will admit of many improvements from that of England; and if the author be not in a mistake, through partiality to his native country, we are rich enough to repay with interest all we have occasion to borrow;" a reflection which might produce good seed, if it would teach some narrow intellects to examine the merits of some petty deformities of Scottish law, for which antiquity has given them an affection. And if the proud legislators of a neighbouring country would desert for a moment the stale jest which forced itself into the words "*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*," and admit the possibility that the mighty engine of English jurisprudence might admit some improvement from the working of a more simple and in many things very efficacious machine, the high benefits of a participation in the excellencies of their own system, which they show so much anxiety to extend across the border, would be received with less jealousy and suspicion.

Passing over the introduction to the *Art of Thinking*, published in 1761, we turn with much pleasure to the contemplation of another of the philosophical productions of this eminent writer, the work on which his reputation chiefly depends. In 1763 was published, in three octavo volumes, "*The Elements of Criticism*." The correspondence and previous

studies of the author show the elaborate and diversified matter of these volumes to have been long the favourite subject of his reflections. It had in view the aim of tracing the progress of taste as it is variously exhibited and acknowledged to exist, to the organic principles of the mind on which in its various departments it is originally founded, displaying the art of what his biographer justly calls "Philosophical Criticism," in opposition to that which is merely practical, or applicable to objects of taste as they appear, without any reference to the causes why the particular feelings are exhibited. But that lord Kames was in this "the inventor of a science," as his biographer has termed him, is a statement which may admit of some doubt.

The doctrine of reflex senses propounded by Hutchinson, the father of the Scottish System of Philosophy, had many years previously laid a firm foundation for the system, afterwards so ably erected. Some years previously to the publication of the *Elements of Criticism*, Hume and Gerard had drawn largely from the same inexhaustible source, and, if with less variety, certainly with more correctness and logical accuracy of deduction; and Burke, though he checked the principle of the sensations he has so vividly illustrated by arbitrary feelings assigned as their source, contributed much to the advancement of that high study. Nor is it to be denied, that the ancients at least knew the existence of this untrodden tract, if they did not venture far within its precincts, for few can read Cicero de Oratore, Longinus, or the Institutions of Quintilian, without perceiving that these men were well acquainted with the fundamental principles of the rules of criticism. But relinquishing the discussion of its originality, the *Elements of Criticism* is a book no man can read without acquiring many new ideas, and few without being acquainted with many new facts: it is full of useful information, just criticism, and ingenious reasoning, laying down rules of composition and thought, which have become classical regulations for elegant writers. The author is, however, a serious transgressor of his own excellent rules; his mind seems to have been so perpetually filled with ideas, that the obstruction occasioned by the arrangement of a sentence would cause a considerable interruption in their flow; hence he is at all times a brief, unmelodious composer, and the broken form of his sentences frequently renders their meaning doubtful. The following specimen, chosen by chance, is an example of a good rule ill observed by its maker: "In arranging a period, it is of importance to determine in what part of it a word makes the greatest figure, whether at the beginning, during the course, or at the close. The breaking silence rouses the attention, and prepares for a deep impression at the beginning; the beginning, however, must yield to the close: which, being succeeded by a pause, affords time for a word to make its deepest impression. Hence the following rule, that to give the utmost force to a period, it ought, if possible, to be closed with that word which makes the greatest figure. The opportunity of a pause should not be thrown away upon accessories, but reserved for the principal object, in order that it may make a full impression: which is an additional reason against closing a period with a circumstance. There are, however, periods that admit not such a structure, and, in that case, the capital word ought, if possible, to be placed in the front, which next to the close, is the most advantageous for making an impression" (v. ii. p. 72). But were we to scrutinise with malicious accuracy, we might find sentences like the following, bidding defiance to form and sense. "Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for savages, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood," (*Sketches of Hist. of Man*, v. i. p. 370;) or, "Here it is taken for granted, that we see external objects, and that we see them with both eyes in the same place; inadvertently, it must be acknowledged, as it flatly contradicts what he had been all along inculcating,

that external objects are not visible, otherwise than in imagination," (*Essays on Morals*, p. 276). It has been said, and not without reason, that the critical principles of lord Kames are more artificial than natural, more the produce of refined reasoning than of feeling or sentiment. The whole of his deductions are, indeed, founded on the doctrine of taste being increased and improved, and almost formed by art, and his personal character seems not to have suggested any other medium for his own acquisition of it. He joined the vulgar cry of the period on the barbarism of the Gothic architecture, probably because the general disrespect in which it was held prevented him from being anxious to discover any "first principles" on which to erect for it a character of propriety and elegance. In his plans for the improvement of his grounds, we find him falling into practical abortions of taste, of which, had they been presented to him as speculative questions, he might have seen the deformity. In a letter to the accomplished Mrs Montague, he says, "a rill of water runs neglected through the fields, obscured by pretty high banks. It is proposed that the water be raised in different places by stone buildings imitating natural rocks, which will make some beautiful cascades. The banks to be planted with flowering shrubs, and access to the whole by gravel paths. The group will produce a mixture of sweetness and liveliness, which makes fine harmony in gardening as well as in life;" and farther on, "But amongst my other plans, I have not forgot the spot pitched upon by you for a seat; and because every thing belonging to you should have something peculiar, the bottom, to be free from wet, is contrived to fold up, and to have for its ornament a plate of brass with this inscription, 'rest, and contemplate the beauties of art and nature.'" The *Elements of Criticism* had the good fortune to call forth a little of the virulence of Warburton, who seems to have complacently presumed that lord Kames composed his three thick volumes with the sole and atrocious aim of opposing some of the theories of the learned divine; and Voltaire, celtifying the author by the anomalous name of "Makaims," has bestowed on him a few sneers, sparingly sprinkled with praise, provoked by the unfortunate Scotsman having spoken of the *Henriade* in slighting terms, and having lauded Shakspeare to the prejudice of the French drama.

In April, 1763, lord Kames was appointed a lord of justiciary, in the criminal court of Scotland. Some have accused him of severity as a judge; but in the character of the man who can stretch the law against the criminal, there is something so repugnant, and—acting in a court where judges decide very much from discretion, and from which the accused enjoys no appeal—something so truly abhorrent, that we would require much and strong evidence indeed, before we could attribute to a man of great benevolence, of much and tried philanthropy, and of general virtue, the characteristic of a cruel judge. Surrounded by judicial duties and immersed in professional and literary studies, he was still an active supporter of the useful institutions which he had some time previously joined, investigating along with the celebrated Dr Walker, the proper grounds for improving the cultivation and manufactures of the Western Isles, and the more remote parts of Scotland. In 1766, a new field was opened for his exertions, by his succession, through the death of his wife's brother, to the extensive estate of Blair Drummond, which made him a richer, but not a more illustrious man. The chief circumstance which renders this accession to his fortune interesting to the world, is the commencement of a vast system of improvement, by floating into the Firth of Forth the surface of a moss, extending over portions of his own, and many contiguous estates, and shrouding what cultivation has made and is still making the finest land in Scotland. The next issue from the pen of lord Kames, were, a small pamphlet on the *Progress of Flax Husbandry in Scotland*, published in the year 1765, and in the ensuing year, a

continuation of his Remarkable Decisions from 1730 to 1752. He now began to approach that age which has been marked out as a period reached by a small proportion of the human race, but though stricken in years, and pressed upon by official duties, he did not flinch from a new and elaborate undertaking on a subject of many diversified branches, some of which were totally disconnected with his previous literary labours. Lord Kames appears to have had his mind perpetually filled with the matter he was preparing to discuss, and to have constantly kept open to the world the engrossing matter of his thoughts; it is thus that, for some time previously to the publication of his "*Sketches of the History of Man*," (which appeared in 1774,) we find an ample correspondence with his literary friends,—with Dr Walker, Sir James Nasmyth, Dr Reid, and Dr Black, affording some most interesting speculations on the gradations of the human race, and the analogy between plants and animal subjects—which had long been speculated upon by our author. On these branches of philosophy, he has bestowed considerable attention in the *Sketches of the History of Man*, to little satisfaction. In reasoning *a priori* from the history of man in the world, and the various aspects of his tribe, the author erects a system in opposition to that of revelation, to which however he afterwards yields, as to the authority of the court, allowing it to be true, not by any means from the superiority of the system to his own, but because holy writ has told it. But if the work be hereafter perused, to gratify an idle hour with its amusing details, few will search in it for much information on a subject which has received so much better illustration from Blumenbach, Pritchard, and Lawrence. But the subjects of these sketches are multifarious; Ossian's poems are ingeniously introduced as part of the history of man, constituting a sort of barbaro-civilized period, when probably the same amount of polish and of rudeness which still exists, held sway, though without neutralizing each other, and both displayed in the extreme; government is also discussed, and finances. The political economy is old and narrow, looking upon national means too much in the light of an engine to be wielded, rather than as a self-acting power, which only requires freedom and room to enable it to act; nevertheless it is sprinkled with enlightened views such as the following: "It appears to be the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce, as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers, as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately are the former."

In his latter days, the subject of our memoir produced four more extensive works, of which we shall only mention the names and dates: "*The Gentleman Farmer*," in 1776,—"*Elucidations respecting the Common Law of Scotland*," in 1777,—"*Select Decisions of the Court of Session from 1752 to 1768*," published in 1780,—"*Loose Hints on Education*." The last of his works, was published in 1781, in the 85th year of the author's age, a period when the weakness of the body cannot fail to communicate itself to the thoughts. The green old age of lord Kames seems to have been imbibed by no disease but that of general decay. He continued his usual attention to the agricultural and manufacturing projects of the country; gratified his few leisure hours in the society of his select literary friends, attended the court of session, and even performed the arduous duty of travelling on the circuits: he was indeed a singular specimen of a mind whose activity age could not impede. His correspondence continues till within a short time of his death, and before leaving the world, he could spare some consideration for assisting in the establishment of an institution, the pleasures and profits of which could not be reaped by him, The Royal Society of Scotland. During his short and last illness, he expressed no dread except that he might outlive the faculties of his mind; to the usual solicitations, which

friends can never avoid making on such occasions, that he would submit himself to the care of a physician—"Don't talk of my disease," he answered, "I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs Drummond and my son are of a different opinion; but why should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I knew well that no physician on earth can do me the smallest service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this world in peace and good-will to all mankind. You know the dread I have had of outliving my faculties; of that I trust there is now no great probability, as my body decays so fast. My life has been a long one, and prosperous, on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I would fain indulge the hope that it has not been useless to my fellow creatures."

A week before he died, Lord Kames took a final farewell of his old friends and professional companions, on that bench to which he had been so long an ornament. He parted from each as a private friend, and on finally retiring from the room, is said to have turned round on the sorrowful group and bid his adieu in an old favourite epithet, more expressive of jovial freedom than of refinement. He died on the 27th of December, 1782, in the 87th year of his age. We have narrated the events of his life with so much detail, that a summary of his character is unnecessary; he is said to have been paradoxical, but if the epithet be applicable, the private defect will be forgotten in the midst of his public virtues. He possessed the dangerous and powerful engine of sarcasm; but he used it to heal, not to wound. The following instance of his reluctance to give pain, to be found in a letter to Mr Creech, is so characteristic of a truly worthy man, that we cannot abstain from quoting it. "In the fifth volume of Dodaley's collection of poems, there is one by T—— D—— at page 226, which will make a good illustration of a new Rule of Criticism that is to go into the new edition of the Elements; but, as it is unfavourable to the author of that poem, I wish to know whether he is alive; for I would not willingly give pain."

HOME, JOHN, an eminent dramatic poet, was born at Leith on the 22d of September, (O.S.) 1722. He was the son of Mr Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith, whose father was the son of Mr Home of Flass, in Berwickshire, a lineal descendant of Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes, from whose the present earl of Home is descended. John Home, who during his whole life retained a proud recollection of his honourable ancestry, was educated, first at the grammar school of his native town, and then at the university of Edinburgh. In both of these seminaries, he prosecuted his studies with remarkable diligence and success. While he attended the university, his talents, his progress in literature, and his peculiarly agreeable manners, soon excited the attention, and procured in no small degree the favour, both of the professors and of his fellow students. He here formed an acquaintance which lasted through life, with many of those eminent men, who elevated the literary character of Scotland so highly during the eighteenth century. After qualifying himself by the ordinary course of studies, to undertake the duties of a clergyman in the Scottish church, he was licensed to preach on the 4th of April, 1745.

The natural character of Home was ardent and aspiring. Under the meek garb of a Scottish licentiate, he bore a heart which throbbed eagerly at the idea of military fame, and the whole cast of his mind was romantic and chivalrous. It might have been expected that, in the celebrated quarrel which divided the national mind in 1745, such a person would have been unable to resist the temptation of joining prince Charles. It happened, however, that the chivalry of Home was of a whiggish cast, and that his heart burned for civil freedom as well as for military glory. He therefore became a volunteer in a royal corps which was raised at Edinburgh to repel the attack of the Chevalier. This corps,



when the danger approached in all its reality, melted almost into thin air : yet Hume was one of a very small number who protested against the pusillanimous behaviour of the rest. Having reluctantly laid down his arms, he employed himself next day in taking observations of the strength of the Highland forces, which he appears to have communicated to Sir John Cope : while thus engaged, he was near enough to the prince to measure his stature against his own. In the early part of the succeeding year, he reappeared in arms as a volunteer, and was present at the disgraceful affair of Falkirk, where he was taken prisoner. Being conveyed to Doune castle, then under the keeping of a nephew of Rob Roy, he was confined for some days, along with several companions in misfortune ; but the whole party at length escaped, by cutting their blankets into shreds, and letting themselves down upon the ground. He now took up his residence at Leith, and for some time prosecuted his professional studies, mixed, however, with a kind of reading to which his inclination led, that of the historians and classics of Greece and Rome.

"His temper," says his friendly biographer Mackenzie, "was of that warm susceptible kind, which is caught by the heroic and the tender, and which is more fitted to delight in the world of sentiment than to succeed in the bustle of ordinary life. His own favourite model of a character, and that on which his own was formed, was the ideal being *Young Norval* in his own play of Douglas, one endowed with chivalrous valour and romantic generosity, eager for glory beyond any other object, and, in the contemplation of future fame, entirely regardless of the present objects of interest and ambition. The same glowing complexion of mind, which gave birth to this creature of fancy, coloured the sentiments and descriptions of his ordinary discourse ; he had a very retentive memory, and was fond of recalling the incidents of past times, and of dramatizing his stories by introducing the names and characters of the persons concerned in them. The same turn of mind threw a certain degree of elevation into his language, and heightened the narrative in which that language was employed ; he spoke of himself with a frankness which a man of that disposition is apt to indulge, but with which he sometimes forgot that his audience was not always inclined to sympathize, and thence he was accused of more vanity than in truth belonged to his character. The same warm colouring was employed in the delineation of his friends, to whom he assigned a rank which others would not always allow. So far did he carry this propensity, that, as Dr Robertson used jokingly to say, he invested them with a sort of supernatural privilege above the ordinary humiliating circumstances of mortality. 'He never,' said the Doctor, 'could allow that a friend was sick till he heard of his death.' To the same source were to be traced the warm eulogies which he was accustomed to bestow upon them. 'He delighted in bestowing as well as in receiving flattery,' said another of his intimates ; 'but with him it had all the openness and warmth of truth. He flattered all of us, from whom his flattery could gain no favour, fully as much, or, indeed, more willingly, than he did those men of the first consequence and rank, with whom the circumstances of his future life associated him ; and he received any praise from us with the same genuine feelings of friendship and attachment.' There was no false coinage in this currency which he used in his friendly intercourse ; whether given or received, it had with him the stamp of perfect candour and sincerity."

Such was the enthusiastic young man who was destined for the strange glory of producing, in Scotland, a tragedy upon a Scottish story. In 1746, he was presented by Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton, to the church and parish of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, then vacant by the death of the Rev. Robert Blair, the author of the *Grave*. Previous to this period, his passionate fondness

for Plutarch, had led him to commence a tragedy upon one of his heroes—Agis—which he finished soon after he was settled in Athelstaneford. In 1749, he went to London, and offered his work to Garrick, for representation at Drury Lane, of which that great actor had recently become manager. But the English Roscius did not think it well adapted to the stage, and declined bringing it on, much to the mortification of the author, who, with the feeling natural to such a situation, wrote the following verses on the tomb of Shakspeare, in Westminster Abbey :

Image of Shakspeare! to this place I come,  
To ease my bursting bosom at thy tomb;  
For neither Greek nor Roman poet fired  
My fancy first—thee chiefly I admired;  
And, day and night revolving till thy page,  
I hop'd, like thee, to shake the British stage;  
But cold neglect is now my only meed,  
And heavy falls it on so proud a head.  
If powers above now listen to my lyre,  
Charm them to grant, indulgent, my desire;  
Let petrification stop this falling tear,  
And fix my form for ever marble here.

After this unsuccessful journey to London, he turned his mind to the composition of the tragedy of Douglas, which was founded upon the beautiful old ballad of Gil Morris. Having finished this in the intervals of his professional labours, he set out upon another expedition to the metropolis, February, 1755, with the favourable hopes of a circle of most intelligent friends, to whom he had intrusted it for perusal. It was, however, as ill received as Agis: Mr Garrick returned it with the declaration that it was totally unfit for the stage. With this opinion, which many excellent English critics still maintain, neither the poet nor his friends were at all satisfied. Those friends, looking upon it with the eyes of Scotsmen, beheld in it something quite superior to the ordinary run of English tragedies; and accordingly they recommended that it should be presented upon the Edinburgh stage, which was then conducted by a gentleman named Digges, whom Mr Mackenzie describes as possessed of great powers, (though with many defects,) and of great popularity in Scotland. The recommendation was carried into effect; and all Edinburgh was presently in a state of wild excitement, from the circumstance of a play being in preparation by a minister of the established church.<sup>1</sup> The actors at the Edinburgh theatre hap-

<sup>1</sup> If we are to believe an authority good in theatrical matters—the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* newspaper, while under the management of Mr Edward Hishop,—Dr Carlyle, and others of his brethren, not only attended the rehearsals of *Douglas*, but themselves performed in the first of them; “It may not be generally known,” says the authority just referred to, “that the first rehearsal took place in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde, one of Digges’s company; and that it was rehearsed by, and in presence of, the most distinguished literary characters Scotland ever could boast of. The following was the cast of the piece on the occasion:—

*Dramatis Personæ.*

Lord Randolph,	Dr Robertson, principal, Edinburgh.
Glenalvon,	David Hume, historian.
Old Norval,	Dr Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh.
Douglas,	John Home, the author.
Lady Randolph,	Dr Ferguson, professor.
Anna (the Maid),	Dr Blair, minister, High Church.

The audience that day, besides Mr Digges and Mrs Warde, were the right honourable Patrick lord Elphinstone, lord Milton, lord Kames, lord Monboddo, (the two last were then only lawyers,) the Rev. John Steele and William Home, ministers. The company, all but Mrs Warde, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, in the Abbey. The above is a signal proof of the strong passion for the drama which then obtained among the *literati* of this capital, since

pened to be, in general, men of some ability in their profession, and the play was thus cast: Digges, *Young Norval*; Hayman, *Old Norval*; Love, *Glenalvon*; Mrs Warde, *Lady Randolph*. But the name Barnet was at this time used for Randolph, and Norval was called Norman. The first representation, which took place December 14, 1756, was honoured by the presence of a large audience, comprising many friends of the author, clerical as well as otherwise. It was received with enthusiastic applause, and, in the conclusion, drew forth many tears, which were, perhaps, a more unequivocal testimony to its merits. The town was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending its representation was the clerical contest which it excited, and the proceedings of the church of Scotland regarding it. Owing to certain circumstances,—among which was reckoned the publication of lord Kames's "Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion," which were suspected of a tendency to infidelity, besides the issue of a work in England, entitled "England's Alarm," in which Scotland was accused of cherishing great corruptions in religion,—there obtained in the church a more zealous disposition than usual to lop off heresies, and chastise peccant brethren. Hence the prosecution raised against Mr Home, which at any rate must have taken place, was characterized by an appearance of rancour which has often since been the subject of ridicule.

The presbytery of Edinburgh commenced the proceedings by publishing a solemn admonition; in which they expressed deep regret at the growing irreligion of the times, and warned all persons within their bounds, especially the young, against the danger of frequenting stage-plays. This document only provoked the mirth of the public; it was replied to by a perfect torrent of *jeu d'esprit*. The church, however, though unable to inflict any punishment upon the people at large for their admiration of the play, had the author and all his

then, unfortunately, much abated. The rehearsal must have been conducted with very great secrecy; for what would the kirk, which took such deep offence at the composition of the piece by one of its ministers, have said to the fact of no fewer than four of these being engaged in rehearsing it, and two others attending the exhibition! The circumstance of the gentle Anna having been personated by 'Dr Blair, minister of the High Church,' is a very droll one."—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, January 21, 1829.

This statement may not be accurate—it is only a quotation from a newspaper; but assuming that it has some truth in it, we hesitate not to say that it is far from being either "droll" or creditable to the eminent persons to whom it refers: "Sir," said Dr Johnson, upon one occasion, "this merriment of parsons is very offensive."

As to Dr Robertson's share in these transactions, it is only fair to quote what is said by his biographer. Mr Stewart's words are as follows: "The extraordinary merits of Mr Home's performance, which is now become to Scotsmen a subject of national pride, were not sufficient to atone for so bold a departure from the austerity expected in a presbyterian divine; and the offence was not a little exasperated by the conduct of some of Mr Home's brethren, who, partly from curiosity, and partly from a friendly wish to share in the censure bestowed on the author, were led to witness the first representation of the piece on the Edinburgh stage. In the whole course of the ecclesiastical proceedings connected with these incidents, Dr Robertson distinguished himself by the ablest and most animated exertions in defence of his friends; and contributed greatly, by his persuasive eloquence, to the mildness of that sentence in which the prosecution at last terminated. His arguments, on this occasion, had, it may be presumed, the greater weight, that he had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse; a remarkable proof, among numberless others which the history of his life affords, of that scrupulous circumspection in his private conduct, which, while it added so much to his usefulness as a clergyman, was essential to his influence as the leader of a party; and which so often enabled him to recommend successfully to others the same candid and indulgent spirit that was congenial to his own mind."—*Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart, Esq., p. 12.

In this passage Mr Stewart discountsenances, in general terms, the belief that the Principal gave the tragedy of *Douglas* any active patronage, by attending the representations or otherwise; but the statement that Dr Robertson "had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse," cannot be considered as an absolute contradiction of his having been present at the rehearsal "in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde."

clerical abettors completely in their power. Mr Home only escaped degradation by abdicating his pulpit, which he did in June, 1757. His friends who had been present at the representation, were censured or punished according to the degree of their supposed misconduct. Mr White, the minister of Libberton, was suspended for a month, a mitigated sentence in consideration of his apology, which was—that he had attended the representation only once, when he endeavoured to conceal himself in a corner, to avoid giving offence.

The misfortune of the Scottish church, on this occasion, consisted only in a little want of discrimination. They certainly did not err in characterizing the stage as immoral; for the stage, both then and since, and in almost all periods of its existence, has condescended to represent scenes, and give currency to language, which, in the general society of the period, could not be tolerated. But though the stage seems thus to claim a privilege of lagging behind the moral standard of every age, and in general calculates itself for the gratification of only a secondary order of tastes, there was surely something to be said in favour of a man who, having devoted his leisure to the cultivation of an elegant branch of the belles lettres, had produced a work not calculated to encourage the immoral system complained of, but to correct it by introducing a purer taste, or which could at least not be played, without for that night preventing the representation of something more fatal to good manners. There were many, no doubt, who were rather rejoiced than saddened, at finding a stream of purer feeling disposed to turn itself into the Augean stable of the theatre; because they calculated that since men cannot be withheld from that place of amusement, the next best course is to make the entertainment as innocent as possible.

Mr Home had been introduced some years before, by Sir David Kinloch, the patron of his parish, to lord justice clerk Milton, who then acted as *Sous Ministre* for Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle. Being introduced by lord Milton to the duke, his grace said that, being now too old to be of any material service in improving his prospects, he would commit him to his nephew, the earl of Bute, who was succeeding to that nameless situation of trust and patronage which had been so long held by himself. Accordingly, on Mr Home's going to London in 1757, he was kindly received by lord Bute, who, having that influence with Garrick which had been found wanting in the merit of the play itself, soon caused it to be brought out at Drury Lane. Notwithstanding Garrick's unchanged opinion of its merit, it met with distinguished success.

Lord Bute, besides procuring Mr Home this highest gratification which he was capable of receiving, provided for his personal wants by obtaining for him the sinecure situation of conservator of Scots privileges at Campvere. Thus secure as to the means of subsistence, the poet reposed with tranquillity upon his prospects of dramatic fame. His tragedy of *Agis*, which had been written before Douglas, but rejected, was brought forward, and met with success, Garrick and Mrs Cibber playing the principal characters. The *Siege of Aquileia* was represented in 1750, but, owing to a want of interest in the action, did not secure the favour of the audience. In 1760, he printed his three tragedies in one volume, and dedicated them to the prince of Wales, whose society he had enjoyed through the favour of the earl of Bute, preceptor to the prince. When this royal personage became king, he signified his favour for Mr Home by granting him a pension of £300 a-year from his privy purse—which, in addition to an equal sum from his office of conservator, rendered him what in Scotland might be considered affluent. About this period, he spent the greater part of his time in London, but occasionally came to Scotland, to attend his duties as an elder in the General Assembly, being appointed to that trust by the ecclesiastical establishment at Campvere, which then enjoyed a representation in the great clerical council of the nation. In 1767, he forsook almost

entirely the company of the earl of Bute and his other distinguished friends at London, and planted himself down in a villa, which he built near his former residence in East Lothian, and where he continued to reside for the next twelve years. To increase the felicity of a settled home, he married a lady of his own name in 1770, by whom he never had any children.

Three tragedies, the *Fatal Discovery*, *Alonzo*, and *Alfred*, successively appeared in 1769, 1773, and 1778; but, though received at first with considerable applause, they took no permanent hold of the stage; and thus seemed to confirm the opinion which many English critics had avowed in regard to the success of Douglas—that it was owing to no peculiar powers of dramatic composition in the author, but simply to the national character of the piece, with a slight aid from its exhibition of two very popular passions, maternal and filial tenderness.<sup>2</sup> The reception of the last mentioned play was so cool, that he ceased from that time to write for the stage.

"As we sat over our tea," says Boswell on this subject, "Mr Home's tragedy of *Douglas* was mentioned. I put Dr Johnson in mind that once, in a Coffee-house at Oxford, he called to old Mr Sheridan, 'How came you, sir, to give Home a gold medal \* for writing that foolish play?' and defied Mr Sheridan to show ten good lines in it. He did not insist that they should be together; but that there were not ten good lines in the whole play. He now persisted in this. I endeavoured to defend that pathetic and beautiful tragedy, and repeated the following passage:

Sincerity,  
Thou first of virtues, let no mortal leave  
Thy onward path, altho' the earth should gape,  
And from the gulph of hell destruction cry,  
To take dissimulation's winding way.

Johnson. 'That will not do, sir. Nothing is good but what is consistent with truth or probability, which this is not. Juvenal indeed gives us a noble picture of inflexible virtue:

Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem  
Integer: ambiguum si quando citabere testis  
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis  
Falsus, et admoto dicet perjurium tauro,  
Summum crede nefas, animam præferre pudori,  
Et, propter vitam, vitæ perire causas.'

He repeated the lines with great force and dignity; then added, 'And after this comes Johnny Home, with his *earth gaping* and his *destruction crying*!—Pooh!'"—*Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.

It must be acknowledged Boswell was not fortunate in the specimen he produced, and that the passage quoted by Johnson from Juvenal is infinitely superior. The circumstances attending the representation of *Douglas* were not such as to dispose an English critic to allow its merit. In the first place, the national taste was in some degree committed in the judgment passed upon the play by the favourite actor and manager; and it was not only galling to himself, but to all who relied upon his taste, that he should have been mistaken. In the next place, the Scots did not use their triumph with discretion; they talked of the merits of Douglas in a strain quite preposterous, and of which no unfair specimen is to be found in the anecdote of a Caledonian who, being present in the pit of Drury Lane one night of its performance, is said to have exclaimed, in the insolence of his exultation, "Whar's your Wully Shakspeare nou?" Such ridiculous pretensions are now forgotten; but they were advanced at the time, and, from their extreme arrogance and absurdity, could not fail to exasperate a mind so ready to repel insult as Johnson's, and so keenly alive as his was to the honour of the national literature of England. The natural consequence followed: he decried *Douglas* perhaps as much as it was overvalued by its admirers; and his acquaintance with far superior compositions, must have enabled him, as in the instance above quoted, to pour derision upon it with an effect which the more judicious part of its admirers could not contend with, the more especially as the noise of indiscriminating applause with which it was hailed, had induced them to assume higher ground than their sober judgment would have led them to fix upon. And indeed, it may be a question whether the same cause that contributed to the first popularity of *Douglas* does not still continue to operate, preserving to our only tragedy a higher rank than it really is entitled to occupy: it is rare that the parents of an only child do not love and admire him for virtues which all the world else fails to discover that he is possessed of.

"The elder Sheridan, then manager of the theatre at Dublin, sent Mr Home a gold medal in testimony of his admiration of *Douglas*; and his wife, a woman not less respectable for her virtues than for genius and accomplishments, drew the idea of her admired novel of *Sydney Biddulph*, as her introduction bears, from the genuine moral effect of that excellent tragedy."—*MacKenzie's Life of Home*, p. 47.

Mr Home, as already mentioned, lived in terms of the greatest intimacy with all the literary men of his time : he seems, however, to have cherished no friendship with so much ardour as that which he entertained for his philosophical namesake David Hume. During the course of a lengthened period of friendly intercourse with this individual, only two trifling differences had ever risen between them. One referred to the orthography of their name, which the dramatic poet spelt after the old and constant fashion of his family, while the philosopher had early in life assumed the spelling indicated by the pronunciation. David Hume, at one time, jocularly proposed that they should determine this controversy by casting lots ; but the poet answered, "Nay, that is a most extraordinary proposal, indeed, Mr Philosopher, for, if you lose, you take your own name, whereas, if I lose, I take another man's name."

The other controversy referred merely to their taste in wine. Mr John Home had the old Scottish prepossession in favour of claret, and utterly detested port. When the former drink was expelled from the market by high duties, he wrote the following epigram, as it has been called, though we confess we are at a loss to observe anything in it but a narrative of supposed facts :—

" Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,  
Old was his mutton, and his claret good ;  
' Let him drink port,' an English statesman cried—  
He drank the poison, and his spirit died."

David Hume, who to his latest breath continued the same playful being he had ever been, made the following allusion to the two controversies, in a codicil to his will, dated only eighteen days before his death. "I leave to my friend Mr John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice ; and one other bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave him six dozen of port, provided that he attests, under his hand, signed John *Hume*, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal matters."

When this eccentric philosopher was recommended for his health to pay a visit to Bath, his faithful friend Home accompanied him, and was of great service, by his lively conversation and kind attentions, in supporting him against the attacks of a virulent disease. The journey took place in April, 1776, and Mr Mackenzie has preserved a curious diary by Mr Home, detailing the principal matters which passed between him and his fellow traveller in conversation. Many of the anecdotes told by the philosopher are exceedingly valuable as snatches of what is styled secret history.

Mr Home spent the latter moiety of his long life in a state little removed from indolence. He removed to Edinburgh in 1779, and thenceforward lived in the enjoyment of that high literary society which the character of his mind fitted him to enjoy, and in which his income fortunately permitted him to indulge. Careless of money in the highest degree, he delighted in entertaining large companies of friends, and often had his house filled to a degree which would now be considered intolerable, with permanent guests.

The only production of his later years was a History of the Rebellion of 1745 ; a transaction of which he was entitled to say, *pars sui*. He had projected something of the kind soon after the event, but did not proceed with it till after he had given up dramatic writing. If there was any literary man of the day from whom, rather than from any other, a good work upon this subject might have been confidently expected, it was Mr Home, who had not only taken a strong personal interest in the affair, but possessed that generous and chival-

rous colour of mind which was most apt to do it justice in narration. Unfortunately, before setting about this work, he had met with an accident by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which his intellect was permanently affected. As a pensioner of king George III., he was also prevented from giving that full expression to his sentiments which was so necessary in the historian of such an event. This work, therefore, when it appeared in 1802, was found to be a miserable sketchy outline of the transaction, rather than a complete narrative—here and there, indeed, as copious as was to be wished, and also showing occasional glimpses of the poetical genius of the author, but in general “stale, flat, and unprofitable.” The imperfections of the work have been partly accounted for, without contradiction, by the circumstance of its having been submitted to the inspection of the reigning family, with the understanding that they were at liberty to erase such passages as they did not wish to be made public.

Mr Hope died on the 5th of September, 1808, when he was just on the point of completing his eighty-sixth year. As a man, he was gentle and amiable, a very warm friend, and incapable of an ungenerous feeling. As a poet, he deserves the credit of having written with more fervid feeling, and less of stiffness and artificiality, than the other poets of his time; his genius in this respect approaching to that of his friend Collins. The present age, however, has, by its growing indifference to even his sole successful play, pronounced that his reputation on account of that exertion, was in a great measure the result of temporary and local circumstances, and that, being ill based, it cannot last.

HOPE, (SIR) JOHN, latterly earl of Hopetoun, a celebrated military commander, was son to John, second earl of Hopetoun, by his second marriage with Jane, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, in the county of Perth. He was born at Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, on the 17th of August, 1766. After finishing his education at home, he travelled on the continent, where he had the advantage of the superintendence of Dr Gillies, author of the History of Greece, now historiographer to the king. Mr Hope entered the army as a volunteer at a period so early as his 15th year, and on the 28th of May, 1784, received a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of light dragoons. We shall briefly note his gradual rise as an officer until he reached that rank, in which he could appropriate opportunities of distinguishing himself. On the 24th of December, 1785, he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 100th foot; on the 31st October, 1789, to a company in the 17th dragoons; on the 25th of April, 1792, to a majority in the 2nd foot; and on the 26th of April, 1793, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 25th foot. It was the period when the claims of rank began to meet with less observance in the British army, and severer duties called for the assistance of active and persevering men; and these had before them a sure road to honour. So early as 1794, lieutenant-colonel Hope was appointed to the arduous situation of adjutant-general to Sir Ralph Abercromby when serving in the Leeward islands; during the three ensuing years he was actively employed in the campaigns in the West Indies, where he held the rank of brigadier-general; during this service he is characterized in the despatches of the commander-in-chief, as one who “on all occasions most willingly came forward and exerted himself in times of danger, to which he was not called, from his situation as adjutant-general.”

In the parliament of 1796, Mr Hope was returned as member for Linlithgowshire: as a legislator he has been very little known, and he soon relinquished a duty not probably according with his taste and talents. As a deputy adjutant-general he attended the expedition to Holland, in August, 1799, having, in the interval betwixt his services abroad, performed the duty of a colonelcy in the north Lowland fencibles. In the sharp fighting at the landing at the Helder,

with which the proceedings of the secret expedition to Holland commenced, colonel Hope had the misfortune to be so severely wounded as to render his farther attendance on the expedition impracticable. From the effects of his wound he recovered during the ensuing October, when he was appointed adjutant-general to the duke of York, lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, his brother by his father's third marriage, being appointed his successor as deputy adjutant-general. In 1800, colonel Hope joined the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been his commanding officer at the attack on the Helder. He still acted as adjutant-general, and on the 13th of May he was appointed brigadier-general in the Mediterranean. Were we to follow this active officer's footsteps through the progress of the Egyptian war, we should merely repeat what the best pens in Europe have been engaged in discussing for thirty years, and what generally is known; suffice it to say, that he was engaged in the actions of 8th and 13th March, 1801, and that he received a wound on the hand at the battle of Alexandria. In June he was able to proceed with the army to Cairo, where he has received credit as an able negotiator, for the manner in which he settled the convention for the surrender of that place with the French commander, general Belliard. On the 11th of May, 1803, he was promoted to the rank of a major-general. On the 30th of June, 1805, he was appointed deputy governor of Portsmouth: an office he resigned the same year, on being nominated to a command with the troops sent to the continent under lord Cathcart. On the 3rd of October, 1805, he was made colonel of the 2nd battalion of the 60th foot, and on the 3rd of January, 1806, colonel of the 92nd foot. On the 25th of April, 1808, he was made a lieutenant-general.<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant-general Hope was among the most eminent and persevering partakers in that exterminating war in the Peninsula, where, as in the conflicts of ancient nations, every thing gained was the price of blood. On the 8th of August he landed with the British forces in Portugal;—during the ensuing month he was appointed British commandant at Lisbon; and on the French gradually evacuating the town, in terms of their convention, he took possession of the castle of Belem on the 10th, and of the citadel on the 12th. The restless spirit of the Portuguese, on the knowledge that the French were to leave the country, caused their long-smothered indignation to appear in insults, threats, and even attempts on the lives of the general officers; to depart in safety was the object of the French, and general Hope had the difficult task of preventing the oppressed people from making dangerous displays of public feeling, a duty he performed with moderation and energy, and which he was enabled finally to complete.

Sir John Moore divided his forces into two columns, one of which under his own command, marched by Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, while the other proceeded to the Tagus under the command of general Hope. While thus separated from his celebrated commander, both experienced the full danger and doubt which so amply characterized the disastrous campaign. The few Spanish troops who had struck a blow for their country, fleeing towards the Tagus, brought to general Hope the traces of the approach of the victorious French. His column, consisting of three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were in want and difficulty. The inhospitable country afforded insufficient supplies of provision, they were destitute of money, and of many necessary articles

<sup>1</sup> These dry details of military advancement, which we would willingly spare our readers, were they not necessary for the completeness of a biography, we have copied from the *Annual Biography and Obituary* for 1824, a source from which we derive all the dates in this memoir, judging it one likely to be depended on.



of military store. To enable his troops in some measure to obtain supplies, he separated his whole column into six divisions, each a day's march distant from the others, and thus passing through an uncultivated country destitute of roads, whose few inhabitants could give no assistance and could not be trusted, and harassed by the neighbourhood of a powerful enemy, he had to drag his artillery and a large park of ammunition to join the commander-in-chief, whose safety depended on his speedy approach. At Almaraz he endeavoured to discover some path which might guide him through the hills to Ciudad Rodrigo, but not finding one easily accessible, the jaded state of his few remaining horses compelled him to relinquish the attempt to cross these regions. On reaching Talavera, to the other evils with which he had to contend was added the folly or perfidy of the Spanish functionaries: the secretary at war recommended to him a method of passing through Madrid, which on consideration he found would have been the most likely of all methods to throw him into the hands of the French army. Resolving to make a last effort to obtain assistance from the nation for which the British troops were wasting their blood, he proceeded in person to Madrid; but the uncontrolled confusion of the Spanish government threw additional clouds on his prospects, and he found that the safety of his men must depend on their own efforts. Avoiding the path so heedlessly proposed, he passed Naval Carnero, and reached Escorial, where he halted to bring up his rear, and to obtain bullocks for dragging his artillery and ammunition. Having crossed the mountains on the sixth day after leaving Madrid, his situation became more melancholy, and he fell into deeper difficulties. He received the intelligence of additional disasters among the Spaniards; and his scouts traced the vicinity of parties of the enemy. "The general's situation," says colonel Napier in his *History of the Peninsular War*, "was now truly embarrassing. If he fell back to the Guadarama, the army at Salamanca would be without ammunition or artillery. If he advanced, it must be by a flank march of three days, with a heavy convoy, over a flat country, and within a few hours' march of a very superior cavalry. If he delayed where he was, even for a few hours, the French on the side of Segovia might get between him and the pass of Guadarama, and then, attacked in front, flank, and rear, he would be reduced to the shameful necessity of abandoning his convoy and guns, to save his men in the mountains of Avila. A man of less intrepidity and calmness would have been ruined; but Hope, as enterprising as he was prudent, without any hesitation ordered the cavalry to throw out parties cautiously towards the French, and to maintain a confident front if the latter approached; then moving the infantry and guns from Villacastin, and the convoy from Espinosa, by cross roads to Avila, he continued his march day and night until they reached Peneranda: the cavalry covering this movement closed gradually to the left, and finally occupied Fontiveros on the 2nd of December."<sup>2</sup> Not without additional dangers from the vicinity of the enemy, to the number of ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, with forty guns, he at length reached Salamanca, and joined the commander-in-chief. He partook in the measures which the army thus recruited endeavoured to pursue, as a last effort of active hostility, passing with his division the Douro at Tordeillas, and directing his march upon Villapando. In the memorable retreat which followed these proceedings, he had a laborious and perilous duty to perform. He commanded the left wing at the battle of Corunna;—of his share in an event so frequently and minutely recorded it is scarcely necessary to give a detailed account. After the death of the commander-in-chief, and the wound which compelled Sir David Baird to retire from the field, general Hope was left with the honour and responsibility of the supreme

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 437.

command, and in the language of the despatches, to his "abilities and exertions, in the direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy."

It was the immediate decision of Sir John Hope, not to follow up a victory over so powerful an enemy, but taking advantage of the confusion of the French, to proceed with the original design of embarking the troops, a measure performed with true military alacrity and good order, not without the strenuous exertions of the general, who, after the fatigues of the day, personally searched till a late hour the purlieus of the town, to prevent stragglers from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Hope wrote to Sir David Baird a succinct and clear account of the battle, in which his own name seldom occurs. As exhibiting the subdued opinion he expressed of the advantage gained, and as what is very probably a specimen of his style of composition, we quote the following passage from this excellent document: "Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be, however, to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from Douro afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources, for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain."

The thanks of his country crowded thickly on general Hope, after the arrival of the despatches in England; a vote of thanks to him and to the officers under his command was unanimously passed in the House of Lords, on the motion of the earl of Liverpool; in the House of Commons, on that of lord Castlereagh. As a reward for *his* services, his *brother* (the earl of Hopetoun) was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Hopetoun of Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, and himself received the order of the bath, in which he was installed two years afterwards, along with twenty-two other knights. Soon after his return to Britain, Sir John was appointed to superintend the military department of the unsatisfactory expedition to the Scheldt. It was the intention of the planners of the expedition, that by landing on the north side of South Beveland, and taking possession of the island, Sir John might incommode the French fleet while it remained near Flushing, and render its retreat more difficult, while it might be subject to the attacks of the British ships. Sir John's division landed near Ter-Goes, took possession of the important post of Balts, and removed all impediments to the progress of the British vessels in the West Scheldt. For nine days Sir John occupied his post, waiting impatiently for the concerted arrival of the gun-boats under the command of Sir Home Popham, harassed by frequent attacks from the enemy, in one of which they brought down about twenty-eight gun-vessels, and kept up a cannonade for several hours, but were, after much exertion on the part of the general, com-

elled to retreat. The termination and effect of the expedition are well known, and need not be here repeated. At the termination of the expedition Sir John Hope was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, but he soon left this unpleasant sphere of duty, to return in 1813, to the scene of his former exertions in the Peninsula. At the battle of Nivelles he commanded the left wing, and driving in the enemy's out-posts in front of their entrenchments on the Lower Nivelles, carried the redoubt above Orogue, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Sibour, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right. On the 10th of December, nearly the whole army of the enemy left their entrenchments, and having drawn in the piquets, advanced upon Sir John Hope's posts on the high road from Bayonne to St Jean de Luz. At the first onset, Sir John took 500 prisoners, and repulsed the enemy, while he received in the course of the action a severe contusion on the head. The same movement was repeated by the enemy, and they were in a similar manner repulsed. The conduct of Sir John on this occasion has received the approbation of military men, as being cool, judicious, and soldierly; and he received the praises of the duke of Wellington in his despatches.

In this campaign, which began on the frontiers of Portugal, the enemy's line of defence on the Douro had been turned, and after defeat at Vittoria, Soult had been repulsed in his efforts to relieve St Sebastian and Pamplona, and the army of France had retreated behind the Pyrenees. After the fall of the latter place, the army entered France, after many harassing operations, in which the progress of the allies was stoutly impeded by the indomitable Soult. In the middle of February, 1814, the passage of the Adour was accomplished. While the main body of the army under the duke of Wellington, prosecuted the campaign in other quarters, Sir John Hope was left with a division to invest the citadel and town of Bayonne on both banks of the river. Soon after these operations commenced, Sir John received information from two deserters, that the garrison was under arms, and prepared for a sortie before day-light next morning. By means of a feint attack at the moment they were so expected, and by the silent and stealthy movements of some of their men through the rough ground, many of the sentinels were killed, and several lines of piquets broken. The nature of the spot, with a hollow way, steep banks, and intercepting walls, deprived those so attacked of the power of retreating, and the whole vicinity was a series of scattered battles, fought hand to hand, with deadly bitterness. The chief defence of the besiegers lay in the fortified convent of St Bernard, and in some buildings in the village of St Etienne; to the latter post Sir John Hope proceeded with his staff, at the commencement of the attack. Through one of the inequalities of the ground already mentioned, which formed a sort of hollow way, Sir John expected to find the nearest path to the village. When almost too late, he discovered that the banks had concealed from him the situation of the enemy, whose line he was just approaching, and gave orders to retreat; before, however, being extricated from the hollow way, the enemy approached within twelve yards' distance, and began firing: Sir John Hope's horse received three balls, and falling, entangled its rider. While the staff attempted to extricate him, the close firing of the enemy continued, and several British officers were wounded, among whom was Sir John himself, and the French soldiers pouring in, made them all prisoners. The French with difficulty extricated him from the fallen horse, and while they were conveying him to the citadel, he was severely wounded in the foot by a ball supposed to have come from the British piquets. From the effects of this encounter he suffered for a considerable period.

On the 3rd of May, Sir John was created a British peer by the title of baron

Niddry of Niddry, county of Linlithgow. He declined being a partaker in the pecuniary grant, which, on the 9th of June ensuing, was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, as a reward for the services of him and other distinguished generals. On the death of his brother by his father's prior marriage, he succeeded to the family title of earl of Hopetoun, and in August, 1819, he attained to the rank of general. He died at Paris, on the 27th August, 1823, in the 58th year of his age. From the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1823, we extract a character of this excellent and able man, which, if it have a small degree too much of the beau ideal in its composition, seems to be better fitted to the person to whom it is applied, than it might be to many equally celebrated.

"As the friend and companion of Moore," says this chronicle, "and as acting under Wellington in the Pyrenean campaign, he had rendered himself conspicuous. But it was when, by succession to the earldom, he became the head of one of the most ancient houses in Scotland, and the possessor of one of its most extensive properties, that his character shone in its fullest lustre. He exhibited then a model, as perfect seemingly as human nature could admit, of the manner in which this eminent and useful station ought to be filled. An open and magnificent hospitality, suited to his place and rank, without extravagance or idle parade, a full and public tribute to the obligations of religion and private morality, without ostentation or austerity; a warm interest in the improvement and welfare of those extensive districts with which his possessions brought him into contact—a kind and generous concern in the welfare of the humblest of his dependents,—these qualities made him beloved and respected in an extraordinary degree, and will cause him to be long remembered."<sup>1</sup>

HOPE, (SIR) THOMAS, an eminent lawyer and statesman of the fifteenth century, and the founder of a family distinguished for its public services, was the son of Henry Hope, a considerable Scottish merchant, whose grandfather, John de Hope, was one of the gentlemen attending Magdalene de Valois, first consort of James V., at her coming into this country in 1537.

Henry Hope, a younger brother of the subject of this memoir, following the profession of his father, was the progenitor of the great and opulent branch of the Hopes of Amsterdam; a house, for extent of commerce and solidity of credit, long considered superior, without exception, to any private mercantile company in the world.

Thomas Hope, after having distinguished himself at school in no small degree, entered upon the study of the law, and made so rapid a progress in juridical knowledge, that he was at a very early age called to the bar. However, like the generality of young lawyers, he enjoyed at first a very limited practice; in 1606, he burst at once upon the world on the following occasion.

Six ministers of the church of Scotland having thought proper to deny that the king and his council possessed any authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were on that account imprisoned for some months in Blackness castle, indicted for high treason, and on the 10th of January, 1606, put upon trial at Linlithgow, before a jury consisting chiefly of landed gentlemen of the three Lothians. As it was carefully promulgated that the king and court had openly expressed the highest displeasure against the ministers, and had declared that they would show no favour

<sup>1</sup> The esteem and affection in which the earl was held in the scenes of private life, and in his character as a landlord, has, since his death, been testified in a remarkable manner by the erection of no fewer than three monuments to his memory, on the tops of as many hills—one in Fife, on the mount of Sir David Lindsay, another in Linlithgowshire, near Hopetoun House, and the third in the neighbourhood of Haddington. An equestrian statue of his lordship has also been erected in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, with an inscription from the pen of Sir Walter Scott. A correct and masterly engraving of Lord Hopetoun, representing him standing beside his horse, has been published.

to any person that should appear in their behalf, none of the great lawyers chose to undertake their cause; even Sir Thomas Craig, although he was procurator for the church, refused to be concerned in this affair, and Sir William Oliphant, who had at first promised to plead for them, sent word, the day before, that he must decline appearing. The ministers, thus abandoned, applied to Mr Hope, who, pitying their case, with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution undertook their defence; and, notwithstanding the reiterated endeavours of the court to perplex and browbeat him, contradicted it in so skilful and masterly a manner, that he made a deep impression on the jury. However, by an unlawful tampering with the jurors (some of the lords of council having procured admittance to them after they were locked up,) and assurance that no harm was intended against the persons or goods of the accused, nine of the fifteen jurymen were induced to bring in a verdict of guilty, and the ministers were sentenced to banishment forth of the kingdom, which was accordingly executed.

By the commendable intrepidity, knowledge of the law, and singular abilities, manifested by Mr Hope at this important trial, he became so greatly the favourite of the presbyterians, that they never afterwards undertook any important business without consulting him; and he was retained in almost every cause brought by that party into the courts of justice, so that he instantly came into the first practice of any lawyer at that period. By this, in a few years he acquired one of the most considerable fortunes ever made at the Scottish bar; which enabled him to purchase, between 1613 and 1642, the lands of Grantoun, Edmonstoun, and Cauldcolts in Mid Lothian, Prestongrange in East Lothian, Kerse in Stirlingshire, Mertoun in the Merse, Kinniamonth, Arnydie, Craighall, Ceres, Hiltarvet, and others in Fife.

It was the policy of king Charles I. to bestow honours and emoluments upon those who had most power to obstruct his designs, and hence, in 1626, the great presbyterian barrister was made king's advocate, with permission, revived in his favour, to sit in the bar, and be privy to the hearing and determining of all causes, except those in which he was retained by any of the parties. He was also in 1628 created a baronet of Nova Scotia. If the king expected by these means to gain him over from the presbyterians, he was grievously disappointed, for although Sir Thomas discharged the duties of his high office with attention and propriety, his gratitude, principles, and inclination, were all too powerfully engaged to his first friends and benefactors to admit of his deserting them: it was, on the contrary, with pleasure that he beheld that party increasing every day in numbers and consequence. It would draw out this account to too great a length, to enumerate all the various steps taken by them in pursuance of his advice; it is enough to say that he acted as their confidant throughout the whole affair of the resistance of the Liturgy in 1637, and that he was intimately concerned in framing the bond of resistance, entitled the National Covenant, which was subscribed by nearly the whole population of Scotland in the succeeding year. The king, with fatal weakness, nevertheless retained him in an office, which, of all others in the state, implied and required a hearty service of the royal cause. In 1643, when a parliament was required to meet in order to settle the Solemn League and Covenant with the English parliament, Sir Thomas, to get over the dilemma of illegality which must have characterized such a meeting, as it could not legally take place till the next year, recommended a convention of estates upon the precedent of some such transaction in the reign of James V.; and thus was achieved a measure which, more than any other, perhaps, was fatal to the royal cause: the army voted in this irregular meeting being of great avail in the decisive battle of Longmarston-moor, which was fought soon after.

Charles, nevertheless, still persisting in his unfortunate policy, appointed Sir

Thomas Hope to be his commissioner to the General Assembly, which met in August, 1643; an honour never before or since bestowed upon a commoner. The royalists were so much incensed at the appointment of an enemy instead of a friend, that they very generally absented themselves from the assembly, and the field was therefore left in a great measure clear to the covenanters, who carried all before them. As the sanction of this body was necessary to the transaction above alluded to, the credit of the whole, direct or indirect, lies with Sir Thomas Hope.

In 1645, Sir Thomas Hope was appointed one of the commissioners for managing the exchequer, but did not long enjoy that office, dying the next year, 1646. He had the singular happiness of seeing, before his death, two of his sons seated on the bench while he was lord advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children, the privilege of wearing his hat, while pleading, was granted to him. This privilege his successors in the office of king's advocate have ever since enjoyed, though it is now in danger of being lost through desuetude.

The professional excellencies of Sir Thomas Hope are thus discriminated by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Characteres Advocatorum*. "Hopiis mira inventione pollebat, totque illi fundebat argumenta ut amplificatione tempus decasset; non ornabat, sed arguebat, modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebat; et ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem. Ita rhetorica non illi defuit, sed inutilis apparuit."

The following are the written or published works of Sir Thomas Hope.—1, *Carmen Seculare* in serenissimum Carolum I. Britanniarum Monarcham, Edin. 1626.—2, *Psalmi Davidis et Canticum Solomonis Latino carmine redditum*, MS.—3, *Major Practicks*.—4, *Minor Practicks*, (a very well known work), —5, *Paratitillo in universo Juris Corpore*.—and 6, *A Genealogie of the Earls of Mar*, MS.

In Wood's *Ancient and Modern account of the Parish of Cramond*, from which the above facts are chiefly taken, is given a very perfect account of the numerous descendants of Sir Thomas Hope, including the noble race of Hope-toun, and many other races distinguished in the two past centuries, by official eminence and public service.

HORNER, FRANCIS, whose virtues, talents, and eloquence, raised him to an eminent rank in public life, while yet a young man, was born at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1778. His father, who was at that time a linen manufacturer and mercer upon an extensive scale, took delight in cultivating the excellent talents which his son early displayed, and doubtless contributed much to the formation of those intellectual habits, and sound and liberal principles, which marked the boy as well as the full-grown man. Francis was sent to the High school, where he soon became a favourite with the late Dr Adam, who then presided over that eminent seminary as rector, and who was accustomed to say of his distinguished pupil, that "Francis Horner was the only boy he ever knew who had an old head upon young shoulders." Nor was this remark dictated by undue partiality, although some of the most eminent men of the present age were among young Horner's class-fellows: for he was never known to join in the field-sports or recreations of any of the boys, and he kept the rank of dux at school by his own industry and talents alone, having no private tutor to direct his studies. Francis indeed needed no adventitious aid; but it has been thought by some of his medical friends that these early propensities to retirement and constant study contributed to sow the seeds of that pulmonary disease which assailed his youth, and finally led to an untimely grave.

When removed to the university he enjoyed the instructions of several eminent

professors, and, in particular, attracted the notice of Dugald Stewart: but the theatre, perhaps, which tended more than any other to unfold his talents and views was the Speculative Society, an institution for improvement in public speaking, and in science in general, without peculiar reference to any of the learned professions, the members of which met weekly during the sitting of the college. There are few associations of this kind which have numbered so many young men of splendid talents on their roll of members. Lord Henry Petty, the second son of the first marquis of Lansdown, and Messrs Brougham and Jeffrey were amongst Mr Horner's associates in the arena of debate, and contributed by their mutual influence on each other's minds to invigorate and sharpen those intellectual powers which were afterwards to raise them to stations of the highest eminence and widest influence in society. Mr Horner first directed his attention to the Scottish bar, but like his two last-mentioned friends with very limited success. The attainment of sufficient practice before the Scottish court can only be the result of undismayed perseverance and great industry; real talent will ultimately reach its object there, but the necessary probation is apt to dishearten conscious merit. There was something also in the political character of the times inauspicious to young men of independent principles, who sought to make their way without friends or interest by dint of talent alone; the aristocracy possessed overwhelming influence, and a considerable amount of prejudice existed in the midst of the commonalty against the first manifestations of that more liberal spirit which now began to show itself in various quarters, and more especially characterized the debates of the Speculative Society. The intervention of a jury was also unknown in civil causes, and thus the principal field for forensic eloquence was denied to the youthful aspirant. These considerations appear to have so far weighed with Mr Horner as to induce him, though already admitted a member of faculty, to direct his attention to the English bar; and with this view he left his associates, now busily engaged with the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, and repaired to London, where he commenced the study of English jurisprudence.

In the meantime his friend lord H. Petty, after having taken his degree at Cambridge, and visited the continent, returned to England, and was immediately elected one of the two representatives of Calne. In the new parliament just then convoked, this young nobleman soon began to be considered a very able and formidable ally of the opposition; and upon the final success of Mr Fox's party, lord Henry Petty found himself, at the very early age of twenty-one, chancellor of the exchequer, a member of the privy council, and M. P. for the university of Cambridge. In this commanding situation he strongly recommended his young Scottish friend to the notice of his coadjutor, as a gentleman whose principles, character, and talents eminently fitted him for supporting the new ministry. Mr Horner was accordingly brought into parliament for the borough of St Ives in 1806. By the dismissal of the Foxo-Grenville administration, Mr Horner was for a time deprived of his parliamentary seat; but the talents and integrity which he had exhibited while in office, pointed him out to the friends of liberal principles as an ally too important to be consigned to oblivion. Accordingly, on the retirement of viscount Mahon from the representation of Wendover, Mr Horner was immediately nominated for that place, and soon afterwards was appointed one of the commissioners for investigating the claims on the late Nabob of Arcot, whose debts had been guaranteed by the East India Company,—an office of considerable emolument but proportionate labour. This situation, however, he afterwards resigned, though receiving little or no emolument from professional business, which indeed he did not aim at acquiring. Once established, however, in parliament, Mr Horner continued gradually to ac-

quire the confidence of the house, and that hold upon public opinion, without which no member of the British senate can be an efficient statesman. His speeches were little remarkable for ornament, or in a high degree for what is generally called eloquence; but he brought to the examination of every subject the power of a clear and matured understanding; and as he made it a point never to address the house upon any subject of which he had not made himself fully master, he never failed to command attention and respect. The excellence of the speaker consisted in accurate reasoning, logical arrangement of the facts, and clear and forcible illustration.

On the 1st of February, 1810, Mr Horner entered upon that part of his parliamentary career in which he reaped his most brilliant reputation. The extraordinary depreciation of the paper-currency, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges for the last two years had attracted the attention of the best economists of the day, and engaged Messrs Mushet, Ricardo, and Huskisson, and many others, in the investigation of the general principles of circulation, and of the various results which are occasioned in different countries by the variations in their respective currencies. This was a subject upon which Mr Horner felt himself at full liberty to enter. He had early turned his attention to economical subjects, and had given the result of his inquiries to the public in various articles which he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, which had attracted very considerable notice from their first appearance. Accordingly, pursuant to notice, he moved for a variety of accounts and returns, and during the spring of that year, called the attention of the house at different times to the important subject of the circulating medium and bullion trade. At the same time that Mr Horner was establishing his reputation as an economist, he neglected not the other duties of a statesman. On the 10th of May, 1810, when Alderman Combe made a motion censuring the ministers for obstructing the address of the Livery of London to his majesty in person, we find Mr Horner supporting it in the following constitutional terms: "He considered it as a question of vital importance, respecting which ministers had attempted to defend themselves by drawing the veil from the infirmities of their sovereign. It was the right of the Livery of London, as it was of other subjects, to have access to his majesty's person in the worst times,—even in those of Charles II. these had not been refused. The most corrupt ministers indeed, had no idea it would ever be refused. How complete would have been their triumph if they had discovered the practice which of late had prevailed! The obstruction of petitions was a subversion of the fundamental law of the land." Towards the conclusion of the same session, the house marked its sense of Mr Horner's superior information by placing his name at the head of "the bullion committee." Mr Horner presided for some time as chairman of that committee during the examination of the evidence, and drew up the first part of the report; the second was penned by Mr Huskisson; and the third by Mr Henry Thornton. They reported "that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptoms were the high price of bullion,<sup>1</sup> and next to that the low state of the continental exchange;<sup>2</sup> that the cause of this excess was to be found in the suspension of cash-payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess, except in the convertibility of paper into specie; and that the unfavourable state of the exchange originated in the same cause, and was farther increased by the anti-commercial measures of the enemy." They added "that they could see no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, except the repeal of the law suspending the

<sup>1</sup> Gold had attained a maximum of 15 per cent. above the mint price.

<sup>2</sup> The exchanges on Hamburg and Amsterdam had been depressed towards the latter end of 1809, from 16 to 20 per cent. below par; while the exchange on Paris was still lower.



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